Cameron Alasdair Macfarlane

‘A Dream of Darien’: Scottish Empire and the Evolution of Early Modern Travel Writing.

Abstract:

This thesis addresses the evolution of early modern travel writing and attendant developments in credible representation in seventeenth-century print, as expressed through case studies of Scottish colonialism, to argue for the role of print in the imaginative conception and expression of Scottish colonial rhetoric. The primary case studies are the attempted settlement of Nova Scotia, as promoted by Sir William Alexander and Robert Gordon in the 1620s, the settlement of East New Jersey and Carolina in the 1680s by the Scottish proprietors of East New Jersey, and the ‘Darien Scheme’ – the attempted settlement of the Isthmus of Darien in Panama by the ‘Company of Scotland’ from 1696-1701. In an interdisciplinary approach combining literature and history scholarship, this thesis first posits the role of ‘historic memory’ in promotional materials around Nova Scotia as articulating a reconceptualization of Scotland as a colonial power. Scottish colonial rhetoric had to adapt to the political developments that followed from the Cromwellian Protectorate and the return of the Stuart Monarchy in 1660, and to attendant developments in credible representation in print. The use of scientific signifiers and other markers of authenticity within ‘buccaneer ethnographies’, which informed plans for colonial settlements, are shown to also serve to rehabilitate the perception of otherwise suspect accounts, highlighting the overlapping association of promotion and deception. Culminating around the promotion of the Darien Scheme in print ballads and newsprint, this thesis argues for the accelerating effect of print and print culture in seventeenth-century Scotland on the expression of colonial attitudes. By applying literary scholarship on the rise of verisimilitude and ‘realistic fictions’ in seventeenth-century print, to materials related to travel and the promotion of overseas colonial enterprise, this thesis focuses on how Scottish colonies were promoted in print, and in turn, how Scottish imperialism was imagined.

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List of Abbreviations:

Glasgow University Library, Spencer Collection – Sp Coll.
Glasgow University Library, Special Collections General Manuscripts – MS Gen
British Library, Sloane Manuscripts – Sloane MS

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Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis addresses the evolution of early modern travel writing and attendant developments in credible representation in seventeenth-century print, as expressed through case studies of Scottish colonialism, to argue for the role of print in the imaginative conception and expression of Scottish colonial rhetoric. By applying literary scholarship on the rise of verisimilitude and 'realistic fictions' in seventeenth-century print, to materials related to travel and the promotion of overseas colonial enterprise, this thesis focuses on how Scottish colonies were promoted in print, and in turn, how Scottish imperialism was imagined. The immediate historical context in which print materials were created and authenticated will be shown to have been a shaping pressure to expressions of colonial rhetoric in print. An interdisciplinary approach between literary and historical interests is therefore mutually beneficial. Literary scholarship is necessary to understand how the changes in seventeenth-century travel writing, and commercial print more generally, influenced the expression and cultivation of Scottish attitudes to colonialism. At the same time, the diversity of materials necessary to make such a point requires an approach more sophisticated that one bound by the usual strictures of literary genres. Historians treat all texts and materials as potential sources, without being limited by secondary reading which tends to reflect canonical interests. At the same time, as research focused on the creation and promotion of the 'imagined potential' of colonial enterprise, this thesis is directed towards a more intangible but no less potent motive force for Scottish imperialism in the seventeenth-century, that is rarely addressed by economic or political historians.

When discussing Scottish attitudes to colonialism, it is important to emphasise at the outset that the participation of Scots in overseas plantations was rarely, if ever, limited to purely 'Scottish' endeavours. The Union of Crowns in 1603 and other contemporary efforts to encourage the integration of the composite monarchy of the British Isles, dubbed by Bradshaw and Morrill as 'the British Problem', had far reaching consequences for the expression and involvement of Scots within colonial enterprise.[1] As Sir William Alexander and Robert Gordon attempted to settle Nova Scotia from the 1620s to the 1630s with the assistance of English colleagues, other Scots found roles within the early English colonies as well. A notable Scotsman in the court of James VI & I, James Hay, Earl of Carlisle, was a director in the Virginia Company while it sought to establish what Purchas called the

[1] *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, Eds. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996).

settlement of 'New-Britaine', and held a proprietary patent to the Barbados plantations.[2] John Winthrop, a significant proponent of the Massachusetts Bay Company, encouraged Scots and Scottish ministers to travel to the English colonies in furtherance of the 'survival of the godly'.[3] The execution of the Scottish born Charles I, and the 'deterioration of the Scottish-English partnership' in the New World that followed, nevertheless saw an increase in the number of Scots in the English colonies of New England and the Caribbean, as prisoners of war captured and transported by Cromwell following the battles of Dunbar, Preston and Worcester. The legacy of these military defeats and transportations would have a profound impact on the promotion of East New Jersey by the Scottish Proprietors of that province in the 1680s, as discussed in its own chapter.[4]

Scots were admired among the English colonies of the Caribbean in the middle of the seventeenth-century as being both 'excellent Planters and good Souldiers', and at least prior to the restrictions of the Navigation Acts, keeping the colony of Barbados 'in so formidable posture that they neither feared the Insurrections of their slaves, nor any invasion from a forreigne Enemy'.[5] Lord William Willoughby, when Governor of Barbados in 1667, particularly remarked on the usefulness of the Scots within the colony, and wished that more were present as: 'We have more than a good many Irish amongst us, therefore I am for the down right Scott who I am certain will fight without a crucifix about his neck'.[6] There were similar encouragements from the government of Jamaica in the 1670s to gain the presence of Scots on the island as planters and servants, 'and to prevent them from going to Poland and other nations, whereby they are absolutely lost to his Majesties service'.[7] The establishment of John Browne's sugar works in Greenock in 1663, and the four other sugar-refineries founded in Scotland between 1667-1700, which in time also distilled rum from the waste molasses, indicates an emergent economy in Scotland dependant on the product of colonial

[2] Samuel Purchas, *Purchas: His Pilgrimage* (1613), pp. 625, 631-32, as quoted in David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 85; David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Eds. Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 114.
[3] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 115.
[4] See pp. 95-96.
[5] *C.O.* 1/21, No. 20. 'An Account of the English Sugar Plantations, Barbadoes' (23 Jan 166?), as quoted in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co, 1922), p. 231.
[6] Brit. Mus. Stowe 755, f. 19. 'Private letter of Lord William Willoughby, who, in 1666, succeeded his brother (drowned in a hurricane) as Governor of Barbados, to a Scottish nobleman, July 26th, 1667', as quoted in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 230.
[7] Sir Thomas Modyford, 'Propositions for ye speedy Settling of Jamaica', *C.O.* 1/25 No 59, iii, as quoted in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 123.

plantations even while there were no distinctly 'Scottish' colonies.[8] The 'systematic' recruitment of Scots, and particularly Orcadians, by the Hudson's Bay Company, led by the half Scottish Prince Rupert in the latter stages of the seventeenth-century, on account of their 'hardy disposition', has also drawn comment from David Dobson.[9] Similarly, the 'colonising' of the English East India Company by Scots from the 1730s and 1740s, indicates the valued participation of Scots in early modern exploration and settlement.[10]

The evident appetite for empire in seventeenth-century Scotland was not simply an inevitable consequence of mercantile, scientific, or political developments in Britain and wider Europe. Instead, prior to any national project or commercial undertaking, the idea of 'Empire' and exploration was a work of the imagination. Long before the final case study of this thesis, the intended settlement of the Isthmus of Darien in Panama by the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies from 1695-1701, successive progenitors of colonial enterprises sought to articulate arguments for imperialism that would appeal to a Scottish readership. As will be demonstrated in successive chapters, a critical literary appreciation of materials used in the promotion of overseas plantation, and their imagined potential, is crucial to understand the formation of Scottish colonial rhetoric. However, such a project is not without its attendant trials.

Exploring the Boundaries of a Definition

One of the challenges in discussing the promotion of plantation colonies in the early modern period, which may take the form of poem, play, pamphlet, news-letter or broadsheet ballad, as 'travel writing', is that while such works may directly draw on natural histories, or journals, or extant travelogues as part of their argument, such formats appear to fall outside our idea of a 'travel account'. Steve Clark is correct to say that what 'counts as travel writing had been historically variable', and culturally specific.[11] In the Middle Ages one could find examples of travel writing in the form of pilgrimage narratives offering itinerary or apodemic guidance to the reader before their own journey. As Barbara Korte has described, the

[8] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 118.
[9] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', pp. 119-20.
[10] Andrew Mackillop, 'Locality, Nation, and Empire: Scots and the Empire in Asia, c.1695-c.1813', *Scotland and the British Empire*, Eds. John M. Mackenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp. 61-63.
[11] Steve Clark, 'Introduction', *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, Eds. Steve Clark (London: Zed Books, 1999), p. 9.

predestined nature of a pilgrimage often created uniformity between accounts as source material was repeated, and one may find little of the experience of the 'other' or the foreign which we have come to expect of the modern travelogue.[12] Conversely, when addressing the more fantastic and exotic accounts of the mid and late medieval period, with their encounters with mythical beasts and monstrous races, there appears little to associate the medieval romance as a form of 'travel writing' in the same vein as the geographies and cosmographies inspired by Classical texts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[13] Romances, through narratives of quest and exploration, had promoted the language of travel to the literary imagination and anticipated the cross-cultural contact that came with colonialism. Yet, as Jason Pearl outlines, the genre became discredited towards the close of the sixteenth century, turning from a 'structuring genre' to a 'prejorative epithet used to discredit testimony deemed vain and fanciful. […] The genre was seen as a vehicle for self-aggrandizement and entertainment, not empire building. What replaced it in this capacity was natural history, which subordined the great discovered to the observed environment […].'[14] Jennifer Goodman in *Chivalry and Exploration* reaches a similar conclusion, describing how in the face of modern economic concerns which prized the 'factual', the romance was rejected as naïve, or triumphalist. The point is well made by Goodman, however, that in dismissing the romance of exploration from our consideration of early modern travel writing, we dismiss the very fantasies that drove European explorers and conquistadores: '[…] it is a mistake to impose strict distinctions between the factual literature and the voyage of imaginative fiction. By enforcing this division, we exclude a valuable body of pertinent material from consideration.'[15] It is not enough to consider what explorers wrote, it is equally important to understand what explorers and colonists read.

Yet, while offering caveats to its 'generic hybridity and flexibility', travel scholars such as Barbara Korte have nevertheless tried to define the travel account within the scope of a narrated journey: 'Travel accounts or travelogues are defined by a narrative core […] This is also true of travel books which present the reader with a great deal of factual information,

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[12] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, Trans. Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 26.
[13] For examples see George Abbot, *Brief Description of the Whole World* (1599) & Peter Heylyn, *Microcosmos* (1621).
[14] Jason H. Pearl, 'Geography and Authority in the Royal Society's Instructions for Travelers', *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, Ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), p. 73
[15] Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration: 1298-1630* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998) p. 3 & p. 219

such as Charles Darwin's *Voyage of the Beagle* (1839).'[16] By contrast, 'The ancients had neither a clearly defined genre of travel writing,' writes Maria Pretzler, 'nor a notion of books specifically written for travellers'. Instead, as with their medieval and, I would argue, their early modern equivalents, classical travel accounts were variously associated with 'historiography, geography, epic poetry and narrative literature', with many works only surviving as fragments.[17] Critics acknowledge the role of travel writing 'and the imaginative geographies they conjure' as being 'crucial to the discursive formation of empire'.[18] The most famous compilation of travel accounts from the early modern period, Richard Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* (1589), contained poetry as well as prose in its promotion of further 'English' navigations, with George Chapman's *De Guiana Carmen Epicum* (1596) accompanying Walter Raleigh and Lawrence Keymis's accounts of their voyages to Guiana in the second edition of the *Principal Navigations* (1598-1600).[19] Hakluyt understood that to manipulate the appeal of exploration and colonialism, it was necessary to work upon the reader's imagination and conception of distant places and experiences. And yet many promotional materials that rely upon such imaginative geographies appear to fall outside the diversions of the 'court travel history' or the geographies and ethnographies of interest to 'company agents' seeking accurate descriptions of goods and commodities, which have been the focus of particular scholars.[20]

Conversely, geographic dictionaries or natural histories taken from travel accounts were often adapted or edited into promotional materials to supplement their author's overall argument for imperialist expansion. Such technical elements might have lacked an overt promotional narrative in themselves, but they served a function in promotional schemes by their use as markers of authenticity, implying the credibility of the document they were contained within. Individual documents might therefore separately fall outside our assumptions of what makes up a travelogue. However, when drawn upon within a project of colonisation or exploration, they might become a form of travel writing in their utility to the *anticipation* and advocacy of voyages. If we accept the multiplicity of materials contained in the *Principal Navigations*, if

[16] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, p. 9.
[17] Maria Pretzler, *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece*, Classical Literature and Society Series (Duckworth: London, 2007), p. 45.
[18] Paul Smethurst, 'Introduction', *Travel Writing Form and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility,* Eds. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 1.
[19] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiqves and Discoueries of the English Nation*, Vol. III, Second Edition, (London: Ralph Newberie & Robert Barker, 1600), pp. 666-68.
[20] Judy A. Hayden, 'Intersections and Cross-Fertilization', *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, Ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), p. 17.

only by their editor's intent to promote travel, then by necessity we should be similarly holistic in our appreciation of materials in the decades that followed lest we exclude 'a valuable body of pertinent material from consideration'.[21]

Overview: The Paradigm Shift of Verisimilitude

Scholars of travel writing and the history of science alike have typically noted a paradigm shift in social consciousness in early modern Britain at the turn of the seventeenth-century, from 'more than half medieval' to 'more than half modern'.[22] Claire Jowitt, in her work on 'armchair travel' in Renaissance drama, draws attention to Brome's *The Antipodes* (1640) as evidence of a derisive attitude in popular theatre towards those who, in their consumption of travel accounts, favoured the more 'fabulist' voyages of Mandeville over the more recent voyages and circumnavigations of Drake, Cavendish, and Frobisher. To follow the analysis of Jowitt, those characters who unquestioningly trusted the pre-eminence of 'fabulous and un-reliable travel knowledge' were ridiculed as being 'disorientated' and 'unable to function in the "real" world'.[23] This 'shift' in public perception and social conditioning reflected as much of a growing suspicion of the received wisdom of previous generations as the later rise of empiricism epitomised by the work of Francis Bacon. The discoveries of the 'New World' had disrupted the idea that knowledge of the world was complete. No more could writers be in thrall by what Bacon described as a 'spell-bound reverence for antiquity, and the authority of those held to be the great figures in philosophy'.[24] Knowledge of the world could be 'discovered' by experiment and exploration, rather than 'recovered' from history. However, aside from any specific value in what the ancients were able to impart, their position as authorities was a bedrock of stability to literary credibility insofar as the texts themselves were immutable. There may be an inferior translation or inference, but there was something durable to their natural histories and pre-eminence which, when disproven or found unsatisfying, left something untethered in the public consciousness in determining an account

[21] Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration*, p. 3 & p. 219.
[22] Paolo Rossi, *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science*, Trans. Sacha Rabinovitch (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968), p. x. 'However the fact remains that around 1600 the English intellectual was more than half medieval and around 1660 he was more than half modern.'
[23] Claire Jowitt, 'Hakluyt's Legacy: Armchair Travel in English Renaissance Drama', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, Eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), p. 305; Richard Brome, *The Antipodes: A Comedie* (London: J. Okes for Francis Constable, 1640), pp. 238-39, (Performed 1638).
[24] Francis Bacon, 'Novum Organum', in *Novum Organum, with Other Parts of The Great Instauration*, Trans/Eds. Peter Urbach and John Gibson (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1995), pp. 92, 93.

of the world that could be relied upon. The reconceptualization of a 'modern' understanding of the global maritime world was to have a profound effect on the narrative transformation of travel writing and the promotion of colonising plantations in the seventeenth-century. While the medieval explorer or traveller had been expected to satisfy the public's anticipation of encounters with monstrous men and races as part of the 'heritage of classical geography',[25] '[…] there developed a general suspicion of (old-style) travel writing', writes Korte, 'as a genre prone to lie'.[26] Increasingly, the perspicacity of the 'learned reader' was called upon to discern the truth or falsity of an account without unnecessary deference to the wisdom of the ancients.[27] However, the average reader was not always equipped to make such value judgements. Writing of Mandeville's *Travels*, Campbell has remarked that 'its coherence lent authority to the misinformation included in it,' while also disrupting 'the conventional credibility of prose'.[28] When Edward Aston complained of the 'multitude of Mandivels' that posed 'in the habite of sincere Histiographers', his complaint lay in his own insufficiency in discerning 'betweixt the one and the other'.[29] George Abbott, demonstrating a newly critical attitude to the mythic histories that had defined the historiography of previous centuries, rejected Monmouth's claims of the naval empire of King Arthur in his *Brief Description of the Whole World* (1599) as being 'grounded upon fabulous foundations […]'.[30] And Henri Estienne in his *World of Wonders* (1607) mourned the present 'criticall age' which saw Herodotus reduced from being '*Patrem Historie*' to '*Patrem Fabularum*'.[31] 'Don Ulysses of Ithaca' had been exposed as an 'unreliable narrator', and in his stead came the new 'historia' of the early modern travel account, replete with descriptions 'of empirical facts of various kinds'.[32] Scholars such as Barbara Benedict have specifically focused on the relation of curiosity and credulity, because of the particular tension that persists between the desire to

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[25] Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration*, p. 69.
[26] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, p. 28-29; '[…] it passes as a general prouerbe, that trauailers may tell leasing by authority,' Henry Timberlake, *A Trve and Strange Discourse of the Trauailes of Two English Pilgrimes* (London: Thomas Archer, 1612), p. 1.
[27] I. Alday, 'Translator to the Reader', *A Summarie of the Antiquities, and Wonders of the Worlde* (London: Henry Denham for Thomas Hacket, 1566); Alday, I 'Translator to the Reader', *A Summarie of the Antiquities, and Wonders of the Worlde* (London: Printed for Thomas Hacket, 1585).
[28] Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 141.
[29] Edward Aston, 'To the Friendly Reader', *The Manners, Lawes, and Customes of all Nations, Collected out of the best Writers by Joannes Boemus* (London: G. Eld, 1611).
[30] George Abbot, *A Briefe Description of the Whole World* (1599; London: William Sheares, 1635).
[31] Henri Estienne, *A World of Wonders* (London: John Norton, 1607), p. 3-4.
[32] Thomas Coryat, 'A Parallell between Don Ulysses of Ithaca and Don Coryate of Odcombe', *Coryat's Crudities* (London: W.S., 1611), p. 47; Maria Pretzler, *Pausanias: Travel Writing in Ancient Greece*, pp. 46-47; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity, The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), p. 50.

seek out that which is unknown, and the 'self-protecting impulse' to exercise caution as part of a reading strategy, before believing or 'authorising the marvellous'.[33] Given the extent to which people had been shown to be ignorant of much of the world, it was difficult to establish the grounds on which the impossible could be dismissed out of hand, leaving them open to deception. Several works were published in the early seventeenth-century that conflated unquestioning credulity with mysticism, romanticism, deception, and Catholicism.[34] The Jesuits, acting at the forefront of the Counter-Reformation, were particularly to be feared for their technique of 'Equivocation by mental reservation', through which they might rob the unwary wavering reader of their Protestant creed.[35] The rapacity of the Jesuit appetite for intrigue would go on to feature in several famous literary hoaxes.[36] Estienne's *World of Wonders* (1607) conversely warned of the dangers of unwarranted scepticism leading to atheism, and bore the challenge to the reader, according to Benedict, of distinguishing the implausible from the merely unperceived wonders of the world.[37] The process of crafting the 'Travel *experience*' into a 'travel *text*', in the words of Carl Thompson, inevitably introduces a fictive dimension to the finished work.[38] Even Bacon ceded the role of 'poesy' as being suitable when 'the acts or events of true history have not that magnitude which satifieth the mind of man […]'.[39] Romance often provided travel writers with a familiar landscape through which places and events outside the 'conceptual category' of their home cultures could be understood.[40] At the same time, the association of travel accounts and travel writers with exaggeration and untruth was the perennial predicament of those who earnestly sought to convince a sceptical public. As one work promoting Scottish colonialism put it: 'far fetcht Fowls have fair Feathers'.[41]

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[33] Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 29-30.
[34] Samuel Harsness's *A Declaration to Egregious Popish Impostures* (1603); Henry Mason's *The New Art of Lying* (1624).
[35] Henry Mason, *The New Art of Lying* (London: John Clark, 1634), as referenced in Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660-1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), pp. 24-25.
[36] For example: George Psalmanazar, *An Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa* (London, 1704).
[37] Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry* (London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 29.
[38] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 27-28.
[39] Francis Bacon, 'The Advancement of Learning', in *The Advancement of Learning and New Atlantis,* Ed. Arthur Johnston (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1974), p. 80.
[40] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 69.
[41] Anon, 'Appendix E: (A) Advertisement' (1684), in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, pp. 236-37.

Improvements in navigation led to wider explorations of the world than had hitherto been thought possible. The boundaries of the 'known' world as defined by Classical authors such as Strabo and Pliny were being surpassed, and as a result new experiences and discoveries required a new means of 'making known' the unknown in a manner that could be trusted and believed. The question of falsehood that hung over medieval/early modern travel accounts cried out for a new standard against which truth could be judged. Technical expertise began to out-value rhetorical eloquence in the relation of 'truth', which in turn allowed for a new breed of author to be read outside the prior literary tradition.[42] These new narratives would match the advice of Vicesimus Knox a century and a half later, that writing 'plain, simple, perspicuous, and unaffected', and written in the moment, had the 'hue and complexion of truth'.[43] The list, the catalogue, the itinerary, 'with its intense referentiality', was a fitting format within the travel account and the natural histories they contained to counter the useless rhetorical flourishes despised by Bacon.[44] Collectors and compilers of travel accounts, such as Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas, were also known to be active in their promotion of further English maritime exploration and colonisation, and shaped their collections to that end. Hakluyt, over the three volumes of his *Principal Navigations*, is considered especially to have appreciated 'the authentic voice of the traveller' in his preservation of distinct and separate narrative voices within the multiplicity of his compilations.[45] Critics consequently describe the works of Hakluyt and Purchas as creating 'a new kind of literary document', anticipating the novel in its close examination of a geographic area in 'strictly personal terms', and which, according to Holtz, 'established the priority of documentary, eyewitness accounts as the mode of colonial rhetoric'.[46]

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[42] Examples include: Georgius Agricola, *De Re Metallica* (1556), Trans. Herbert H. C. Hoover & L. H. Hoover (London: The Mining Magazine, 1912); William Barlow, *The Navigators Svpply* (London: G. Bishop, R. Newbery, and R. Barker, 1597); Robert Norman, *The Newe Attractive, shewing The Nature, Propertie, and manifold Vertues of the Loadstone* (London: 1590, reprinted 1720, original 1581); George Abbot, *A Brief Description of the Whole World* (London: William Sheares, 1635, first published 1599). This last work had already dismissed the 'fabulous foundations' of the Arthurian legend used by his contemporary Hakluyt as the preface to his *Principal Navigations*.

[43] Vicesimus Knox, 'On the Manner of Writing Voyages and Travels,' *Essays Moral and Literary*, 4th Edition (1758; Basil: James Decker, 1800), (Originally published 1758), p. 172.

[44] Mary B. Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 80.

[45] David Quinn, 'Introduction', in *Virginia Voyages from Hakluyt*, Eds. David B. Quinn and Alison M. Quinn (London: Oxford University Press 1973), p. viii.

[46] James P. Helfers, 'The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas', *Studies in Philology*, 94 (1997), p. 165; Gregoire Holtz, 'Pierre Bergeron and Travel Writing Collections', *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, Eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), p. 75.

Following on from Hakluyt and Purchas, critical attention has turned to the work of Robert Boyle from the 1660s, and the resolve of the then newly established Royal Society, and its Baconian project 'to extend not only the boundaries of Empire, but also the very arts and sciences', and for cultivating empirical attitudes towards the study of history and nature.[47] McKeon described these same attitudes as stimulating an 'unprecedented dedication to the collection of records', and the conflation of scientific and mercantile interests, while energising the validity and proliferation of first-hand evidence, and 'the "objective" testimony of documentary objects'.[48] While some of these documentary objects were undoubtedly false or misleading, there was nevertheless a unifying preoccupation 'with the question of their own historicity and how it might be authenticated'.[49] The influx of accessible geographical information resulted in the 'antinarrative urge toward encyclopedism' which in turn required new systems of classification and catalogues to be developed.[50] The Royal Society attempted to 'control the flood of data', through their 'Directions' to travellers, which created both a template to format travel, and a normative structure by which 'reliable' information could be conveyed. [51] However, while figures such as Boyle may have developed their editorial and publication methods to establish 'fact', critics such as Benedict have remarked upon how popular fiction of the day easily co-opted the rhetoric of exploration and experiment to lend credibility to their fantasies. A heightened sense of 'empirical values' in popular print, according to Benedict, was a means through which marvellous claims could be made, verified, and validated.[52] Even as Sprat was dismissing the 'pretty Tales, and fine monstrous Stories' of Pliny, Aristotle, etc, as 'Fancy' and 'Romances' when compared with the 'sober, and fruitful Relation' of the 'True History' of the Royal Society, the scientific revolution was creating the tools for more deceptive fictions.[53]

While literary scholarship does not presume the inevitability of the 'early novel' coming from the early travel account, it does tend to emphasise formative correlations. Travel writing's 'alliance with the new philosophy' is described as expressing new social values that allowed

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[47] Second charter of the Royal Society of 1663, quoted from H. G. Lyons, *The Royal Society 1660-1940: A History of Its Administration under its Charters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1944), p. 28.
[48] Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 42-43.
[49] Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740*, pp. 43, 101.
[50] Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, p. 219.
[51] Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, p. 256.
[52] Barbara M. Benedict, *Curiosity: A Cultural History of Early Modern Inquiry*, p. 38.
[53] Thomas Sprat, *The History of the Royal-Society of London* (London: T.R for J. Martyn 1667), p. 90-91.

both the 'dawning light of science', and 'the consciousness that led to the novel – as plot, literary form, epistemological system, and physical book.'[54] It follows that part of the appeal of the travelogue has to do with the central figure *experiencing* the unknown: how they felt, how they acted, with an emphasis on the first-person narrative. The reader participates in the process of understanding through shared discovery. This mutual experience between the reader and author is the compromise between dry analytics and a diverting narrative and creates in the recording of everyday observation something which itself becomes a reflection of and rival to life in written form. As in the transference of detail to fiction which we call verisimilitude, literature appropriates unto itself a 'strategy of recording reality'.[55] As a consequence of these shaping and selection pressures throughout the seventeenth-century, travel writing, and travel fictions were seen to become more 'accurate', with a greater focus on minute details and an 'authentic' narrative voice that has drawn strong parallels to the emergent early novel as a commercial form of print. Campbell, for example, makes clear her admiration for the works of Behn and Cavendish for their use of 'now-familiar novelistic conceptual structures and language habits' within their creative works.[56]

A frustration of this 'progressive' approach to questions of credible representation in early modern travel writing and the novel, particularly around the authority and authenticity of the first-person narrator, is the diminished significance of the *function* of travel writing in encouraging further travel. Critics may discuss the vulnerability of formal geographies or histories to the mistakes or misdemeanours of early explorers, and the role of imaginative landscapes inspiring successive generations of travellers to explore further afield.[57] However, they rarely pursue the trajectory of travel writing beyond the literary account or explore its function as authenticating witness(es) within promotional literature. Further, given the interest in strategies of authentication and the delineation of 'truth' in travel writing, the propagandistic aspect of promotional materials is a worthy intersection to discussions on the construction of 'realistic' fictions, and deception in early modern print.

To some extent, this perspective is unavoidable, as the coalescence of literary techniques used to delineate factual accounts were adapted to form realistic fictions which are now

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[54] J. Paul Hunter, 'Robert Boyle and the Epistemology of the Novel,' *Eighteenth-Century Fiction* 2.4, (1990), p. 275.
[55] J. Paul Hunter, 'Robert Boyle and the Epistemology of the Novel', p. 280.
[56] Mary B. Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe*, p. 12-13.
[57] Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), pp. 16-17.

acknowledged to have informed the formation of the early novel. Yet there is a literary value to exploring the mutual evolution of Scottish colonial rhetoric expressed and influenced by travel writing in its immediate historical context without a too close referral to 'canonical' texts. Similarly, the historical aspects of this project aim to discuss the development of early modern Scottish colonial rhetoric without being drawn too far into a discussion of the consequences of the Darien scheme's failure at the end of the seventeenth-century. However, as the most famous example of Scottish colonial enterprise in the early modern period, overcoming or undermining the entrenched lines of scholarship that surround the Darien Scheme presents by far the greatest challenge to a thesis concerned with the articulation of seventeenth-century Scottish imperialism.

Overview: Scottish Appetite for Empire.

The Darien Scheme (1696-1701), as a concept and event, has not lacked for scholarly criticism. Economic historians will always have an interest in the fiscal circumstances of the Company of Scotland and its actions as it endeavoured to initiate a Scottish trading empire. However, as Pittock has noted, there is a temptation within Scottish history to draw conclusions through hindsight, and to 'abandon any sense of contemporaneity with events in favour of an orderly reading of them'.[58] In the case of the Darien scheme, this finds expression through its alternative name, the 'Darien Disaster', and the association of the scheme's well-known collapse and consequential impact as a catalyst for the later Treaty of Union between England and Scotland in 1706 and the formation of Great Britain in 1707. The acrimonious debates around the prospective Union which followed the collapse of the scheme have shaped the subsequent reading of materials concerned in the 'noble undertaking', as warring pamphleteers sought to define the narrative of events to the best advantage of their own interests.

Among contemporary writers dismayed at the collapse of the colony and alarmed at the prospect of an imminent impetus towards a political union between Scotland and England, the conduct of the English parliament before and during the attempted plantation is a

[58] Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 9.

recurring theme.[59] The Romantic or nostalgic, and thus principally Jacobite, versions of history which subsequently flourished tended to underestimate the ambition of Scots and the Scottish State prior to the Acts of Union, preferring narratives of complicity or national betrayal to explain the Union of 1707, and thus conferring upon their cause a dignity in defeat. This perspective is possible best embodied by Burns:

> The English stell we could disdain,
> Secure in valour's station;
> But English gold has been our bane-
> Such a parcel of rogues in a nation!
> *Such a Parcel of Rogue in a Nation* (1791).[60]

Conversely, the death of the exiled James II in 1701, and Louis XIV's recognition of 'the pretended Prince of Wales as King of His Majesty's dominions' caused much alarm among the Scottish nobility who had supported the Williamite revolution of 1688, and who feared yet more upheaval in Scotland.[61] William III's death the following year amidst the full realisation of the Darien Scheme's collapse, and further Acts of Settlement and Security between the English and Scottish parliaments threatened to drive another wedge between the Union of Crowns. 'Jacobites', wrote the author of a 'Letter to a Friend' of Edinburgh in 1704, 'find here a fair Opportunity to play their Game of advantage, by making the Breach still wider […]'.[62] Matters concerning the succession to the throne on the death of Queen Anne were shortly brought to a head, and in the political jobbery around the Acts of Union that followed, partisans defined the public discourse.[63] As though seeking to bury the issue still deeper, 'Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', writes Colin Kidd, 'Scottish history was generally presented as a narrative of defective state formation. Generations of Scottish historians appeared to agree that Scotland's life as an independent state had been prudently extinguished in 1707' with 'Unionist interpretations of history' dependent on the

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[59] George Ridpath, *Scotland's Grievances, Relating to Darien […]* (Edinburgh, 1700); 'Philo-Caledon', *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (Edinburgh, 1700); Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union* (Chippenham: The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 27

[60] Robert Burns, 'Such a Parcel of Rogue in a Nation' in *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, Ed. James A. Mackay (Darvel: Alloway Publishing, 1993), p. 461.

[61] No. XXXVIII, 'Lord Seafield to the Laird of Culloden', Dated Whitehall, December 30th, 1701. *Culloden Papers* (London: Printed for T. Cadell and W. Davies, Strand, 1815), p. 28.

[62] Sp Coll Spencer f2: Anon. *The Great Danger of Scotland, As to all Sacred and Civil Concerns, from these, who are Commonly known by the Name of Jacobites.* Dated August 1704 (Edinburgh: 1704).

[63] Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p. 7-8.

'negative verdict on the pre-1707 Scottish past'.[64] This has led to the 'two contrasting schools' of scholarship around the Union, and by implication the Darien Scheme, within Scottish history outlined by Derek J. Patrick and lamented by R. A. Houston.[65] To quote Whatley: 'the sound of grinding axes has accompanied studies of the Union for the best part of three hundred years'.[66] By the same token, 'taking sides is at the core of the Jacobite issue', writes Murray G. H. Pittock, 'which is why we should always beware of "neutrality".'[67]

The chapters of this thesis which focus on the Darien scheme are not concerned with the consequences of the scheme on the debates around the settlement of the Scottish and English thrones, and the unification of Britain as a single political polity. Rather, they address the conception, promotion, and expression of the imagined potential of Scottish colonial rhetoric in print as the scheme 'suddenly thrusts itself, apparently without warning, and also apparently without reason' into the 'stormy dawn of Scottish colonising activities'.[68] To this end, whatever role individual actors may have subsequently played in 'Jacobite' or 'Unionist' camps, both perspectives can be found invested in the Company of Scotland. The analysis will, however, cut across perspectives informed by these rivalling positions, to address popular misconceptions of Scotland and Scottish history which do not countenance the forthright expression of Scottish colonial rhetoric found in contemporary materials, and which demonstrate an enduring appetite for empire.

Netzloff has described the repeated attempts by James VI, prior to his acceptance of the Irish and English Crowns, to suppress the Islands of the Hebrides, and settle them with Lowlanders that they might 'reforme and civilise' their present occupants, as providing a framework for later colonial projects in Virginia and Ulster.[69] The attitude of Lowland Scots towards the

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[64] Colin Kidd, *Unions and Unionisms: Political Thought in Scotland, 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 148.
[65] Derek J. Patrick, 'The Kirk, Parliament and the Union, 1706-7', *The Union of 1707: New Dimensions*, Eds. Stewart J. Brown and Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 94; R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 11: 'In Scotland, however, debate has taken the form of axe-grinding rather than objective investigation of the impact of education on literacy. As Geoffrey Elton once pointed out, Scottish historians hold their history very dear but do not study it too closely in case the results of their enquiries interfere too much with their preconceptions.'
[66] Christopher A. Whatley, 'The Issues Facing Scotland in 1707', *The Union of 1707: New Dimensions*, Eds. Stewart J. Brown and Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 8.
[67] Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Myth of the Jacobite Clans* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1995), p. 3.
[68] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, Historical Association (Great Britain) General Series (London: Staples, 1947), p. 3
[69] Mark Netzloff, *England's Internal Colonies: Class, Capital, and the Literature of Early Modern English Colonialism* (New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003) p. 141-42.

Gaels of the Hebrides have been similarly characterised by John Morrill as akin to the views of the 'English Palesmen' towards 'the Irish' from the sixteenth-century.[70] James VI's repression of remote communities by state forces,[71] and the general tension within sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Scotland between its various religious adherents and its rivalling Caledonian and Hibernian cultural spheres in general reveal a record of Scottish colonial attitudes quite aside from English imperialism. As will be made clear in the chapters leading up to the discussion of Darien, Scots were far from aloof to the mercantile developments inherent to colonialism and colonial attitudes, prior to the Union of Scotland and England in 1707 and subsequently the British empire. Relatively recent scholarship attests to the interest among Scottish merchants for the opportunities found abroad throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. Matthew Greenhall's recent thesis on the 'Evolution of the British Economy […] 1580-1750' demonstrates the dependency of Scottish markets on the policies of Westminster, signs of the merger of 'international frameworks of trade' between England and Scotland in the mid- to late seventeenth-century, and the similarity of industries on either side of the border.[72] Greenhall specifically draws on the example of the petition in 1687 on behalf of the Scottish owners of the vessel *Hollandia* to the English treasury for permission to employ her as 'a free ship for the East and other parts of commerce' as they had drawn little profit from trading with Newcastle.[73] 'The owners of the *Hollandia* clearly saw this inter-regional trade with Newcastle as parochial,' argues Greenhall, 'when compared to the riches which could be gained in international trading'.[74] Scottish literature and history clearly has the means and motive to make its own contributions to a specifically 'British' ideology of empire.[75]

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[70] John Morrill, 'The British Problem, c. 1534-1707', in *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, Eds. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), p. 7.

[71] For example, James VI's 'Statutes of Iona' which, in the words of R. A. Houston: 'prescribed education in the Lowlands for the heirs of lairds while simultaneously proscribing the activities of the traditional purveyors of Gaelic oral culture. This was one of a variety of legal and military measures designed to break down the traditional culture of the Highlands – a body of language, religion and social customs held to be a threat to the law-abiding Protestant people of the Lowlands. When they were not over-romanticizing the Highlands, Lowlander and English alike were scathing in their condemnation of its society and culture.' *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, p. 77.

[72] Matthew R. Greenhall, 'The Evolution of the British Economy: Anglo-Scottish Trade and Political Union, an Inter-Regional Perspective, 1580-1750', *Durham Theses* (Durham University, 2011), p. 73.

[73] Treasury reference to the customs commissioners, 11 February 1687, *C.T.P., 1685-1689, III*, p. 1190, as quoted in: Matthew, R, Greenhall, 'The Evolution of the British Economy', pp. 196, 168, 186.

[74] Matthew, R, Greenhall, 'The Evolution of the British Economy', p. 196.

[75] David Armitage, 'The Scottish Vision of Empire: Intellectual Origins of the Darien Venture', *A Union for Empire: Political Thoughts and the British Union of 1707*, Ed. John Robertson (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1995); *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 26.

Nevertheless, the acrimony of the aftermath of the Darien Scheme has tended to overshadow some of the nuances of how public conceptions of the Company of Scotland and its intentions developed over time in the popular press.[76] 'Of the spirit of soaring ambition with which the Darien project was planned, of the spirit of passionate determination with which Scotland entered upon it,' writes Insh, 'there is certainly no shadow of doubt.'[77] And yet insufficient attention seems to have been given to what informed such ambitions and passions. In each of the initiatives of Scottish colonialism that follow in Nova Scotia, East Jersey, and Carolina, the materials promoting the colonies drew on the attention of specific communities within Scotland, and crucially, constructed their arguments around their intended location. By contrast, the Company's earliest promotional materials lack a specificity of detail around which to orient itself, as the timeline of events around the Company shows that the Isthmus of Darien was not acknowledged as the intended destination in public until after the first colonists landed. And yet, the first expedition did not lack for volunteers. The Company benefited from the experience of individuals involved in the organisation of those earlier ventures, and from the fast-increasing information networks and literacy rates in Scotland at the end of the seventeenth-century which allowed it to widely disseminate its materials.[78] But on what understanding did the settlers of the first ships sent to Darien embark, and what was the creative vision of Scottish colonialism that invited such depths of support from the 'Scottish public', a public created in part by print, without a full understanding of the Company's intent?

Part of the answer to these questions comes from the open-ended nature of the Company's prospects and purview and, in association with this, the fluid perception of the country's future potential. Through the 1695 Act of the Scottish Parliament which created the 'Company of Scotland', the company was empowered to trade the world over, and assumed an authority over all the trade of Scotland. Since the inequalities of the 'balance of trade' between Scotland and other nations were seen to imperil its future, trade was to become an affair of State.[79] As early as 1696, the Company's wellbeing was remarked upon as being

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[76] R. A. Houston and others have commented on the difficulty of inducing constructive debates on cherished preconceptions of Scottish history, and the ease with which controversy follows discussions of literature, society and culture: R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, p. 11. Colin Kidd has made a similar point on the way in which studies of Scottish history and culture tend by definition to emphasise a distinctive 'Scottish' trend, isolated from wider developments in Britain: Colin Kidd, *Unions and Unionisms*, p. 1.
[77] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 3.
[78] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 8; Bowie, Karin, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p. 21.
[79] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), p. 8; David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 145-48.

conflated with the fate of the Scottish nation, with public letters in circulation affirming the 'absolute Necessity' of encouraging trade, 'and particularly of this *African* and *Indian* Company […] to keep us from being destroyed, and to continue as a Nation'.[80] That same year John Holland, the Englishman who founded the Bank of Scotland the same year as the Company of Scotland was formed in 1695, remarked on how the swiftness of subscriptions to the company indicted the 'Great Expectations of its success'. In addition, Holland noted how declining to be concerned in the company, 'Or at least, not to Approve of it, and to pay a more than Ordinary Respect to the Projectors', became 'a Sign of Disrespect to the Common Good of the Kingdom'.[81] As Lord Seafield dryly commented on the eve of the Company's first voyage to his colleague William Carstares, 'I believe, and so does most people here, that it will not succeed so well as expected; but yet no man that desires to be well esteemed of in his own country will be persuaded to oppose what is for the interest of the Company'.[82] How the Company came to choose the Isthmus of Darien will be discussed in other chapters, but at its founding in 1695, the 'Company of Scotland' was conceived with the world in its scope, as borne out by its motto, '*Qua Panditur Orbis, Vis Unita Fortio*r': 'To wherever the World Extends, our United Strength is Stronger'. The Company's Crest, which mounted the top of ballads printed and circulated in support of the company's projects,[83] matches this self-image: the emblem of a rising sun over a shield bearing the St Andrew's saltire, and framed on either side by figurative representatives of the peoples of Africa and the Indies, bearing cornucopia.

[80] Sp Coll Spencer f9: 'A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to His Friend at Edinburgh' (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1696), p. 4.
[81] Sp Coll Spencer 24: John Holland, 'A Short Discourse on the Present Temper of the Nation' (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1696), p. 2.
[82] 'Lord Seafield writing to William Carstares, July 1698', as quoted in: John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 129.
[83] For example: Pennycook's *Caledonia Triumphans: A Panegyrick to the King* (1699), three columned broadsheet printed with the full company crest in 1699.

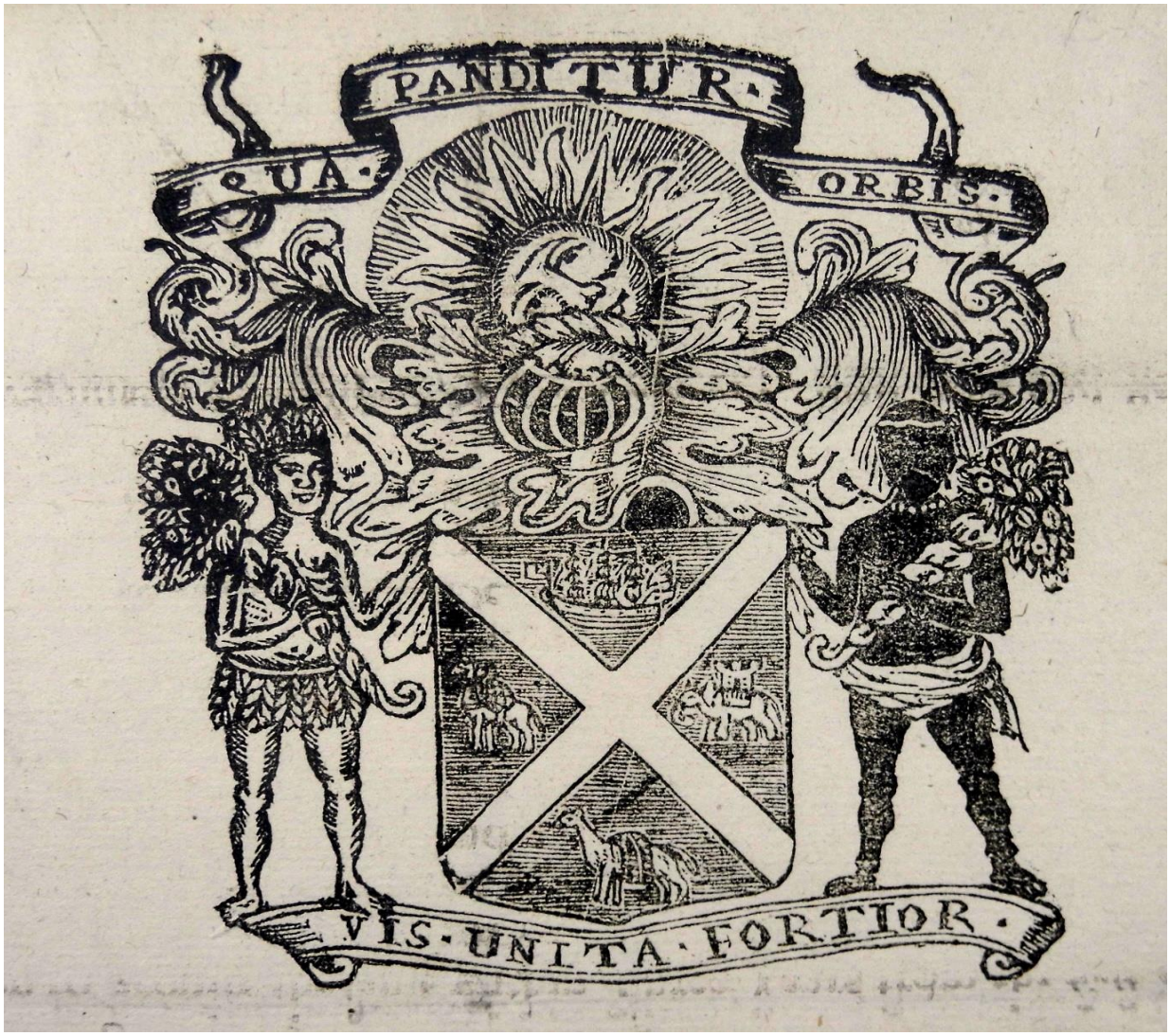

Fig. 1, 'Arms of the Scottish Company Trading to Africa and the Indies' (Sp Coll Spencer f51).

The saltire itself appears to mirror the concept of a medieval 'mappa mundi', dividing the world into four continents, and each continent but Europe personified by a unique beast of burden. The continent of Europe, the most northern segment of the shield, bears a ship, and following the trading company's role in a circumnavigated world, is the one vehicle of trade capable of reaching all the other land-bound caravans. Such an imagined geography and iconographic symbolism, anticipating a 'Scottish' projection on the world by reshaping it into a St Andrew's Cross, speaks volumes on the imagined potential of a prospective Scottish trading empire projected to the wider public, and the assertion of 'punctilious nationalism' that Insh described as distinguishing the Darien Scheme from earlier Scottish attempts at colonisation.[84] As a contemporary poet wrote in support of the Company: 'St-Andrew's Flag

[84] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, p. 182.

then without delay, / We'll over all the World display […].'[85] A far cry from Burns' pride in poverty, 'secure in valour's station'. However exceptional the Darien scheme was in its scope and ambition, it was part of a larger history of Scottish/British colonial enterprise, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters:

Chapter Breakdown - 'New' Scotland

The first chapter of this work addresses the grant of Nova Scotia by King James VI to Sir William Alexander (1567-1640) in 1621. The attempted settlement of Nova Scotia (1621-1632) offers the earliest effort in the seventeenth-century to re-orient Scottish economic and social interests towards the possibilities of reinvention through imperial designs in the New World.[86] The challenges to the progenitors of such designs were manifold, but the primary issue was the recruitment of voluntary settlers. The Scottish public of the early 1600s appeared reticent to trust a new and risky journey over the Atlantic to the unknown, whereas Europe could offer trade, employment, an enviable culture and security.[87] Sir William therefore published *An Encouragement to Colonies* in 1624 to articulate in broad terms his argument for the legitimacy of the participation of Scots in overseas imperialist enterprises. It was shortly followed by Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar's advocacy for participation in his own plantation in Nova Scotia on modern day Cape Breton, *Encouragements for […] New Galloway* (1625).

The model of contemporary anglophone print in promoting overseas plantations was expressed through national paragons and examples of maritime enterprise. Through a comparison of Gordon's and Alexander's works to the promotion of the Scottish regiments in the Thirty Years War through Lawder's *The Scottish Souldier* (1628), this chapter will demonstrate how deeply the contemporary markers of Scottish national identity revolved around a martial rather than maritime history. To create a peculiarly 'Scottish' understanding of the potential of colonialism for Scotland, a re-interpretation of history was necessary within the works promoting Nova Scotia, which in turn also appears to influence later Scottish colonial rhetoric.

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[85] Anon, *Trade's Release* (1699).
[86] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 3
[87] Roger L. Emerson 'The Scottish Literati and America, 1680-1800' in *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800*, Ed. Ned C. Landsman (London: Associated University Presses, 2001), p. 184

Alexander's vision of Scottish colonial expansion, as described in his dedication to King James, reflected a contemporary understanding of the potential of a 'Scottish/British' imperial monarchy, which allowed for the expansion of Scotland's ancient boundaries 'without bloud, and making a Conquest without wrongdoing of others.' [sic] In contrast, the record of ancient history is described by Alexander as the endless purging of 'turbulent humours by letting out the bloud [sic] of many thousands […]'.[88] By the end of the seventeenth-century, Alexander's theme of Scotland's potential for renewal through colonial enterprise without being bound to the example of ancient history would find expression in William Paterson's argument for the Darien Scheme as allowing for empire without 'contracting the guilt and blood of Alexander and Caesar'.[89] A close examination of how writers such as Alexander defined Scottish colonial ambitions alongside other nations' efforts is a key consideration to understanding its literary promotion. By contrast, Gordon's text offers his own 'Motives' and 'Offers' to the reader in 'plain language': '[…] without any inlargement [sic] of made wordes but in single speech, as best beseeming a simple meaning'.[90] Within this self-effacing claim lies a more sophisticated appeal for the author to be considered plainly truthful by declaring his simplicity.[91] Simplicity of speech as a signifier of truth in travel writing is a consequence of developments in contemporary navigation upon the rhetoric of authority in the sixteenth century, as classical learning and knowledge fell into disrepute and the new knowledge being gathered by the opening up of the world to further travel and exploration.[92]

Writing in 1605, twenty years before Gordon, Francis Bacon famously scorned the rhetorical flourishes and excess of contemporary travellers inspired by Classical authors, and who hunted 'more after words than matter, more after the choiceness of the phrase […] than after the weight of matter […] or depth of judgement'.[93] For Bacon, the avoidance of allegory and metaphor was to similarly avoid the 'poesy' which subverted the clear understanding of the world by permitting its author to 'feigneth' the full nature of things as they truly are. For this reason, scholars such as Rossi who have studied Bacon in the context of his efforts to

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[88] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies* (London: Printed by William Stansby, 1624), p. A3, p. 5.
[89] William Paterson, 'A Proposal to Plant a Colony in Darien', *The Writings of William Paterson*, Ed. Saxe Bannister, Vol I (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), p. 159.
[90] Robert Gordon, *Encouragements to New Galloway* (Edinburgh: John Wreittoun, 1625) p. 4.
[91] Michel De Montaigne, 'On the Cannibals', in *The Complete Essays*, Trans. & Ed. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 2003), p. 231.
[92] For an example see Robert Norman, 'To the Reader', *The Newe Attractive, shewing The Nature, Propertie, and manifold Vertues of the Loadstone* (London: 1590, reprinted 1720), pp. i-ii.
[93] Francis Bacon, *The Advancement of Learning* and *New Atlantis*, Ed. Arthur Johnston (Oxford: Clarendon Press), p. 26

describe that which is 'true' see the 'tendency' towards stripped-down language as 'due in part to the need for clarity of expression intrinsic to the diffusion and progress of technology'.[94] Gordon, appealing to the simple truth of his speech to advocate on behalf of the proposed Scottish plantation, clearly writes at a confluent moment in literary discourse which had some bearing on Scottish colonial rhetoric. Following further discussion of the significance of the appropriation of extant travel accounts to the formation of Gordon and Alexander's argument, as well as the recent combined efforts of English and Scottish plantations in Ireland, this chapter will turn to the cartographic representation of 'Nova Scotia' provided in Alexander's account. As a central point to the preservation of 'Scotland' in print in an era defined by the union of Crowns, the assertion of a Scottish identity over the landscape endured beyond the abandonment of the scheme, to be resurrected following the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

'Far-Fetcht Fowls have Fair Feathers'[95]

Following on from the chapter concerning Nova Scotia, this chapter will address the use of travel writing to frame the promotion of overseas plantations, and the literary development of markers of authenticity in seventeenth-century print culture from 'the stamp of antiquity' to the 'approbation of testimony'. The driving question will be how, from Francis Bacon onwards, authors navigated the contradiction of an association between an account's disinterestedness and its trustworthiness with the inherent interest of promotional colonial materials otherwise understood as publicity or propaganda. Drawing on primary materials relevant to the case studies of Scottish colonialism addressed in later chapters, and with particular reference to the construction of authenticity prescribed by the Royal Society, I will argue that the pursuit of a formal structure of 'truth' in travel accounts further exposed the reader to more realistic deceptions. Attempts to define 'truth' along scientific and legalistic terms created the language and configuration by which realistic fictions could be constructed through their appropriation. Given the symbiosis described by Francis Bacon between global exploration and 'the further proficience [sic] and augmentation of Scyences [sic]', the use of 'scientific signifiers' and other contemporary markers of authenticity in furtherance of colonial expeditions draws promotional colonial texts into the realm of the literature of

[94] Paolo Rossi, *Francis Bacon: From Magic to Science*, pp. 2-3.
[95] Anon, 'Appendix E: (A) Advertisement' (1684) in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes*, pp. 236-37.

deception.[96] Of the numerous literary forgeries and hoaxes illustrated in Kate Loveman's *Reading Fictions, 1660-1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (2008), many bore the marks of authenticity of their day – claiming their origins from trusted news sources, bearing a printer's colophon, containing accurate circumstantial details, or as in the case of Neville's *Isle of Pines* (1668), in the 'plain-speaking' figure of the supposed author.[97] As the interpretation of narratives by the increasingly wary reader became an exercise in 'detecting falsehoods and avoiding deception,' authors of authentic and false accounts alike were forced to confront what Jonathan Sell has termed the 'problem of credible representation'.[98] How could one relate the remarkable without being dismissed as the improbable? The implication of such questions is that the eventual forms taken by such fictions in the 'novels' of Behn, Defoe, Swift, Richardson, and so on, which frequently adopted the guise of the epistle, journal, and travelogue, are the result of an evolutionary arms race between the critical habits of the reader, and the intertextual adaptation of fiction to the production, distribution, and content of authentic accounts.[99] As a form of print publication that found utility in confusing the boundaries between impartial descriptions and impassioned advocacy, materials promoting colonial enterprise, and the travel accounts they drew upon, are an underdeveloped aspect of scholarship of literary deception.

This chapter will build on Loveman's case studies on reading practises and hoax travel accounts and apply them to the utility of contemporary news networks for the dissemination of information, as well as the manipulation of the reading public. Lennard Davis, in his work on the origins of the English novel, has previously highlighted the news-sheet or newsbook's notions of 'recentness, continuity, and seriality' as a key signifier of their discourses and purchase by the reading public in contrast to the development of European Romance literature.[100] What this rather neat analysis understates, however, is the extent to which pamphlets, news-sheets, and other information networks were also a primary means to shape and express an emergent notion of 'public opinion'.[101] Improving literacy and communication

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[96] Francis Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, as quoted by John Gascoigne, 'The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the "New Worlds", 1660-1800,' *British Journal for the History of Science* 42/4 (2009), p. 540.
[97] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, p. 71.
[98] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, p. 2.
Jonathan P.A. Sell, *Rhetorica and Wonder in English Travel Writing, 1560-1613* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Ltd 1988), p. 2
[99] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, p. 198.
[100] Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 74.
[101] Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p. 10.

networks allowed for information to spread beyond urban centres, and as demonstrated during the civil wars which marred the middle of the seventeenth-century, destabilised political control over the distribution of 'truth' and information. The Printing Act (1662) and Stamp Act (1694) both reflect government intent to shape and authorise specific forms of writing, which in turn allowed for a counter-cultural consideration of such a text as lacking 'self-evident' truth to recommend it to its readership. As one contemporary author bemoaned, a stamp or printer's colophon was a 'mark of infamy' among some corners of the literate public, identifying the author as wanting either 'wit or honesty to vouch himself'.[102] As will be further detailed in later chapters on framing colonial expeditions, and explicitly the promotion of the Darien Scheme, the sense of immediacy and relevance to the reader of material contained in news-sheets and pamphlets plays a major role in shaping the popular perception and maintenance of the Scots Darien colony of 'New Caledonia' in print in Scotland, long after the first colonists had either fled or died. The 'unwary' or inexperienced readership of the late seventeenth-century were nevertheless empowered by emerging empirical and societal values to determine the delineation of truth for themselves. The confluence dynamic makes questions of credible representation by the writer and interpretive strategies by the reader a pressing interest to the development of travel writing and the representation of 'facts' or 'truth' in print. By examining the different forms of authenticity specifically related to travel hoaxes, and reading strategies, this chapter will lay particular emphasis on the construction of 'realistic' fictions which exploit the idiosyncrasies of the seventeenth-century reader in their prejudices and scepticism and the intertextual adaptation of fiction to the production, distribution, and content of authentic accounts.[103]

'Under New Management', The East Jersey Proprietorship and Literature of Improvement:

Where before the regal union of 1603 provided a justification and encouragement for Scottish claims on North America, the Civils Wars, and the Cromwell Protectorate and 'British' Commonwealth which marked the decades that followed had a profound impact on Scottish participation among the North American colonies before and after the 'Restoration' of the Monarchy in 1660. The Navigation Acts of the Cromwellian Protectorate prior to the unification of the commonwealth, and similar Acts instituted by the later Restoration government which returned England and Scotland to distinct institutions, obstructed efforts

[102] Edmund Hickeringill, *Gregory, Father-Greybeard with his Vizard off* (London: Robin Hood, 1673), p. 2.
[103] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions,* p. 198

towards a specifically 'Scottish' trade among the emergent settlements.[104] Even as the Scottish Privy Council reaffirmed the independence and authority of the Lord High Scottish Admiralty court system in 1680, a critical tenet to Scottish sovereignty, the appointment of James Stuart as Lord High Admiral of Scotland in 1673 has been described by Graham as exemplifying the efforts of the later Stuart Monarchy to unify the maritime policies of Scotland and England.[105] Regardless of the frustrations to distinctly 'Scottish' maritime and colonial enterprises in this time period, Scots were nevertheless remarkably adept at infiltrating the administrative and commercial networks of the English settlements in the New World, using their ambiguous status as subjects of the same Crown to great effect. Scottish colonial rhetoric had to adapt to these changing circumstances and incorporate the recent history of involuntary transportation of Scots following the military defeats at Dunbar, Worcester, and Preston, alongside the political and religious disaffection which drove Scottish emigration to continental Europe and North America.

This chapter focuses on the increasingly prominent role taken by James, Duke of York, in positively encouraging Scottish enterprise in North America, and the attendant political and religious disaffection which also 'encouraged' emigration from Scotland. The primary materials relate to the Scottish Proprietorship of East New Jersey in 1682 and its promotion largely in Scotland. This 'Scottish' colony in the midst of the 'English' provinces of North America offers evidence of the adaptability of Scottish colonial rhetoric to changing circumstances, while forcefully arguing in favour of continued Scottish involvement in overseas colonies.

The Proprietorship, mostly made up of Quakers alongside several of the most significant figures of the Scottish court, had to negotiate their conception of East Jersey in promotional materials, to accommodate the existing communities that had been settled under the earlier 'English' proprietorship, and the varied religious denominations of the inhabitants. They were able to do so by describing the advantages to Scottish trade of the East Jersey settlements taking the appearance of an English colony, protected by the English navy, and surrounded by a protecting wall of affable English settlements. The existing colonial infrastructure of the English and Dutch settlements of North America were thereby framed as to the advantage of Scottish settlers who might yet establish their own colonial enterprises without the strain of being the first to do so. The early materials attracted a wave of

[104] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland*, p. 8.
[105] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland*, pp. 27, 35-36.

emigration from Scotland including individuals such as John Reid, who published his book *The Scots Gard'ner* the same year as he transported his family to East New Jersey in 1683. This chapter will analysis this text and the figure of John Reid within the East New Jersey colony to align the Scottish appetite for plantation settlement and colonial enterprise to the explosion of literature in Scotland dedicated to advancing national 'improvement' of Scotland's agricultural, maritime and commercial culture. Contemporary arguments to reform and 'improve' the Scottish landscape strongly correlate to 'imperialist' arguments for the right to land in the New World through industry. Especially in the later advocacy of William Paterson to reform the Scottish fisheries, alongside his role in the Darien Scheme, the drive for the 'improvement' of Scotland and the creation of a distinct Scottish economic identity around colonial enterprise are deeply entwined. In addition, John Reid's role within early scientific networks of correspondence also illustrates the necessity of such networks for the promulgation of science and imperialist attitudes in late seventeenth-century Scotland and Britain as a whole. The chapter will then close with a focus on the role of correspondence from the colonists of East Jersey functioning as 'travel writing' published within promotional literature and the attempt to control the printed 'popular' narrative around the colony and its competitors. The role of Scots in the administration of ostensibly 'English' colonies, despite being officially restricted in their access to colonial commerce led to suspicions of a toleration of piracy and smuggling to which East Jersey was not exempt. The popular affiliation of Scots with smuggling and other transgressions of the Navigation Acts leads into the successive chapter on voyages to the South Seas.

Travel to the South Seas

Chapter Five, 'Travel to the South Seas', will introduce the final case study of materials around the Darien scheme by discussing the role of the Isthmus of Darien in voyage and buccaneer narratives from the 'Elizabethan Seadogs' to the South Sea buccaneers. Such depictions range from the account of Sir Francis Drake, whose third voyage to the South Seas in 1572 enjoyed a repeated revival in print from 1620-1660, to the accounts of individual actors from the 'Pacific Expedition' against Portobello and Panama in the 1680s, such as Lionel Wafer, Richard Coxon, Bartholomew Sharpe, Basil Ringrose, and William Dampier. The cross-corroboration and comparison of material between the different participants in these expeditions offer an excellent case study for the circumstances of credible

representation. There is also an opportunity to expand on the point made in the chapter on the colony of Nova Scotia and 'cartographic imperialism' in the 'translation' and use of Spanish journals and maps by the privateers, especially Captain Sharpe. The enduring relevance of 'Spanish' knowledge as inherently privileged and authoritative in complementing English and British accounts is another technique of assuring the reader or viewer of a work's credibility. In the context of 'Spanish' maps re-drawn, recreated, and oft-times reprinted, without further verification and many degrees removed from the original procurer, their use by the 'speculative geographers' who 'seldom travel farther than their closets for their knowledge,' is vulnerable to innocent misinterpretation or mistake, or less innocent manipulation.[106] The intertextual nature of many of these privateer's accounts also has some bearing of the authenticity of first-person narratives within the genre, as manuscript editions of Dampier's accounts include transcriptions of the journals of other members of the expeditions, including Lionel Wafer. The buccaneers, as explorers on the periphery of national boundaries and empires, furnished the imaginations and literary arsenal of the authors of hoax and fictitious accounts, as well as becoming the source material for legitimate travellers and anthropologists including the editors of the *Atlas Geographus.*[107] In addition, the buccaneers were an acknowledged source for the decision and justification for the Company of Scotland choosing to establish their colony of 'New-Caledonia' on the Isthmus of Darien. This chapter will explore why it was that the buccaneers held such a privileged position as source material for scientific inquiry, by their appropriation of 'scientific signifiers' to imbue their accounts with the contemporary markers of credible representation.

Lionel Wafer

The sixth chapter primarily focuses on the manuscript and print publications of the Welsh buccaneer and ship's surgeon, Lionel Wafer (164?-1705). Through a cross-comparison of the varied editions of Lionel Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699) from manuscript, to first and second editions, this chapter intends to lay bare the contemporary circumstances peculiar to each work's construction. While Wafer's first edition was published once the Darien scheme was under-way, (1699) and Wafer's role as an advisor to the Company of Scotland is readily acknowledged by historians, the significance of his

[106] Charles Johnson, 'Preface', *A General History of the Pyrates* […] (London: T. Woodward, 1726). Attributed to Daniel Defoe.
[107] Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800*, p. 125.

account as source material for the scheme has been less so. A manuscript version of Wafer's account which William Paterson had acquired from William Dampier, was supposedly provided to the Directors of the Company of Scotland in 1696 during their discussions over where to direct their interests. Examining the editing process from the manuscript to print publication offers valuable insights into how Wafer's manuscript shaped the Company's expectations of Darien, and how in turn the utility of his account to colonial endeavours shaped Wafer's printed publication.[108] Removed from the relevant context of his involvement in the Scheme, and the weight of hindsight that attends its collapse, Wafer's account has been misread by subsequent literary scholars within the category of materials of travel in the name of science.[109] To avoid the sense of momentum and teleology that comes with a chronological progression, the order of the analysis will start with the first edition of 1699,[110] then going on to consider the manuscript version contained in William Dampier's account of the raids of the privateers from 1680,[111] Wafer's interview with the agents of the Company of Scotland as recounted in the pamphlet of Walter Herries (1700),[112] and Wafer's 'Secret Report' to the Duke of Leeds, of 1697/8 describing the potential of Darien and the rest of South America for plantation.[113] Returning to the first edition, the analysis will then turn to the appropriation of Wafer's text in pamphlets promoting information about the Isthmus with the Darien Scheme in mind, circulated in Edinburgh in 1699. These short, punchy pamphlets demonstrate how Wafer's text was contemporaneously read, and what details from his account were seen as the most immediately relevant by those publishers at the hard edge of mercantile practice, and by the Scottish public they catered to. The comparison will then close with the second edition of Wafer's *New Voyage* (1704)[114] and the paratextual features it contained which reflect the pressures exerted on the previous versions in an attempt to reframe the account to promote an English colony in the wake of the collapsed Scottish effort. Engaging in a truly thorough critique of the various editions of Wafer's account of the Isthmus, as well as the immediate

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[108] L. E. Elliott Joyce, 'Introduction', *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America by Lionel Wafer* Ed. L. E. Elliott Joyce. (Oxford: The Hakluyt Society, 1934), p. lxii.
[109] For examples, see Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, p. 36, and, Judy A. Hayden, '"As Far as a Woman's Reasoning May go": Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*, and the New Science', *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, Ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), p. 124. For a more general summation of the relationship between scientific travel and travel writing, see Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800*, p. 125, p. 225.
[110] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (London: James Knapton, 1699).
[111] British Library, Sloane Manuscript 3236
[112] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien* (London: 1700).
[113] 'Appendix I Wafer's "Secret Report"', *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America by Lionel Wafer*, Ed. L. E. Elliott Joyce (Oxford: The Hakluyt Society, 1934).
[114] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (London: James Knapton, 1704).

circumstance of its use by the Company of Scotland to inform their plans for the Darien scheme, will recalibrate the work's critical reception and more fully clarify the impact of the work on the contemporary understanding of the Isthmus of Darien, which forms the focus of the concluding chapters.

'Boardroom Ballads', The Poetics of the Early Company of Scotland:

The seventh chapter of the thesis, and the first of two to directly address the Darien Scheme, is focused on the earliest promotion materials around the Company of Scotland from its founding in 1695, to the first ships sailing under sealed orders in 1698, and the departure of the second wave of ships in 1699 when the intended location of Darien was public knowledge. The first Darien chapter will therefore address the 'Boardroom Ballads', the odes, songs, poems and ballads which surrounded the early Company. Such oral creative formats were often useful as alternative sources of news and information within a partially literate society, and especially in the case of the ballads, had a defined role in shaping and fermenting popular opinion. The chapter will discuss materials penned before, during, and after the revelation of the Company's choice of destination as the Isthmus of Darien, to analyse how the messaging around the Company changed with this news. In addition, the chapter will focus on how contemporaneous events in Scotland and elsewhere, including machinations against the Company, were expressed through poetic verse. Opposition to the Company from the English East India Company meant that the Company of Scotland became increasingly dependent on the Scottish population for financial support, whereas at its founding it had enjoyed the investment of the London merchant class. It was therefore necessary for the Company's future to proliferate a sense of national interest in the Company's prospects and, as Insh has commented, there followed a 'carefully planned campaign of economic propaganda' where one can trace 'if not the hand at least the mind' of William Paterson'.[115] It became necessary for the materials celebrating the Company which circulated in Scotland to reflect the increased need to emphasise the potential consequences of colonial enterprise for Scotland's imagined future. In the time between the first expedition in 1698 and news of its failure by late 1699, the prospect of Darien as a site for plantation became absorbed into the colonial narrative of 'Scottish imperialism' unleashed by the Company and served as the locus for national metamorphoses as a naval trading empire. The

[115] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 12.

triumphalist tone of such materials has largely been excluded from an analysis distinct from commentary on the failure of the Darien scheme, but given the immediate relevance of these materials to inspiring the second wave of colonists in September of 1699, this particular phase in the positioning of Darien in the minds of the prospective colonists is worthy of close attention.

Travelling News and Travel Writing:

The second Darien chapter will pick up from the first to discuss the evolving perception of the Company of Scotland and the Darien scheme in contemporary Scottish print culture following the first public news of the successful landing at Darien reaching Britain in March 1699. The Directors of the Company of Scotland, with their tendency to frequent the 'Royall Coffehouse' in Edinburgh as a meeting point and to conduct Company business,[116] demonstrated a keen awareness of the potential of public discussion and print materials to help or hurt the Company's prospects. There will be a focus on the Company's use of print culture, such as the printing and distribution of parliamentary tracts alongside advertisements for the Company's ventures, to establish the use of printed materials to the Company in its efforts to position its ambitions as of national significance.

The chapter will then discuss the first reports of the landing at Darien being published in March of 1699, and the subsequent explosion of information on the Isthmus of Darien and the Scottish colony of 'New Caledonia' which followed. These materials range from 'Newsletters' claiming authority as current or previous residents of the Isthmus, or pamphlets which edited together extant materials on Darien written by earlier travellers, and the recently established newspaper, the *Edinburgh Gazette*. While discussion of the 'Newsletters' and pamphlets will primarily engage with the distinction between 'official correspondence' and fabrication, some attention will be paid to the role of the Company of Scotland and its well-wishers in manipulating the public discourse on Darien directly and indirectly by discretely distributing information on Darien through such information networks. For example, advertisements on behalf of the Company for the second expedition to Darien feature in editions of the *Edinburgh Gazette*, which will form the focus of the latter stage of this chapter.

[116] Sp Coll Spencer 66: James Byres, *A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Roterdam; Giving an account of the Scots affairs in Darien* (1702), pp. 137-38.

Newsprint is almost unique among print materials around the Darien scheme, as it offers a public digestion of news, and a sense of a consensual understanding of the scheme between reader and editor, informed week to week to reflect and create a public consciousness. By utilising the reports of the scheme contained in the *Edinburgh Gazette*, it is possible to analyse the development of the public narrative around Darien and public expectations of the scheme in co-ordination with a contemporaneous and chronologically developing public record of events in newsprint. In addition to the public record, materials drawn from the Spencer Collection of Glasgow University include private correspondence published in the aftermath of the scheme's collapse but relevant to the first accounts. These materials suggest that the Company was made aware that all was not as suggested in the fledgling colony prior to the second wave of ships. However, it was difficult for such materials to overcome the barriers to discordant information and penetrate the public discourse, and these reports were dismissed as 'English' lies, intended to undermine confidence in the scheme. I will argue that in addition to creating the mythos and momentum around the Darien scheme which heightened expectation among the Scottish subscribers, the Company's Directors' active refusal to acknowledge the possibility of disappointment at this crucial juncture potentially exacerbated the disappointment of the scheme and contributed to an otherwise avoidable catastrophic loss of life and capital. The Directors became a victim of their own narrative.

Taken together, these chapters will illustrate how print changed in the seventeenth-century, and in turn how writings on Scottish colonialism changed, from Sir William Alexander's appeals for new 'Knights Baronets' of Nova Scotia, to the populist demands of the Company of Scotland. It is essential to understand the fantasies, as much as the factual circumstances, which drove European colonists and explorers in the early modern period. [117] The creation and promotion of Scottish colonies in print, which could imaginatively transport their reader by appeals to their patriotism or their ambitions, is itself a form of travel writing, and subject to the same shaping pressures of credible representation.

[117] Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration*, pp. 3, 219.

Chapter Two: ‘New Scotland’ and Nova Scotia

Although this chapter is concerned with the articulation of Scottish arguments for empire around the early settlement of Nova Scotia in the 1620s, Scottish interest in North America predated these efforts by some years. According to David Dobson, the earliest-known Scottish vessel to travel to what is now modern-day Canada was the *Gift of God* of Dundee, which traded between Newfoundland and Lisbon around 1600: ‘Elsewhere Scots worked for themselves in trading missions to Virginia and the Caribbean. Admiral John Cunningham led a Danish exploration of Greenland’s coast in 1606 as a commander of *Den Rode Love* and also made a landing on the Labrador coast of modern Canada.’[1] Since Cabot’s landing at Newfoundland in 1497, the island had slowly accumulated interest among the English as a base for the North Atlantic fisheries, and it is through Newfoundland that Scottish interests in North America are typically considered to have their origins. John Mason was one of the early governors of Newfoundland, and from his history in the employ of Andrew Knox, Bishop of the Isles, on the west coast of Scotland from 1610-11, Mason had pre-existing links with notable personages in Scotland prior to his term of office.[2] Mason was addressing letters to friends in Edinburgh from at least 1617, during his time as governor of Newfoundland, and in 1620 he published through the Edinburgh printer, Ando Hart, a short work titled *Brief Discourse of Newfoundland* (1620).[3] This work drew the interest of Sir William Alexander of Menstrie Clackmannanshire, who sought and in 1621 was granted a patent under the Great Seal to a wide body of land north of New England by King James VI & I, and which was to be known as ‘Nova Scotia’ or ‘New-Scotland’.

> Know ye, that we have always been eager to embrace every opportunity to promote the honour and wealth of our Kingdom of Scotland, and think that no gain is easier or more safe than what is made by planting new colonies in foreign and uncultivated regions, where the means of living and food abound: especially, if these places were before without inhabitants, or were settled by infidels whose conversion to the Christian faith most highly concerns the glory of God.
>
> But whilst many other Kingdoms, and, not very long ago, our own England, to their praise, have given their names to new lands, which they have acquired and subdued; We, thinking how populous and crowded this land now is by Divine favour, and how expedient it is that it should be carefully exercised in some honourable and useful

[1] David Dobson, ‘Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas’, in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Eds. Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 106.
[2] David Laing, ‘Preface’, *Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, relating to The Colonization of New Scotland* (Edinburgh: 1867), p. 4.
[3] David Laing, ‘Preface’, p. 5.

> discipline, lest it deteriorate through sloth and inaction, have judged it important that many should be led forth into new territory, which they may fill with colonies; and so we think this undertaking most fit for this Kingdom, both on account of the promptness and activity of its spirit, and the strength and endurance of its men against any difficulties […] We, therefore, from our Sovereign anxiety to propagate the Christian faith, and to secure the wealth, prosperity, and peace of the native subjects of our said Kingdom of Scotland, as other foreign princes in such cases already have done […].
> 'Charter in Favour of Sir William Alexander, Knight, of the Lordship and Barony of New Scotland in America 10 September, 1621.'[4]

Alexander was foremost a poet and courtier to both James VI & I and his son Charles I, and was a Privy Councillor and Principal Secretary of State for Scotland. In 1622, he acquired a vessel in London and sent it to Kirkcudbright for men and provisions, with the intention of departing to settle a colony within his new domain. The initial voyage from Galloway was, however, delayed by the increased expense in provisions, and 'a disappointing lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Scots, and even by expressions of frank incredulity' for the project. [5] The delay cost this first voyage dearly, as it was driven by a storm and forced to winter in St John's harbour, Newfoundland.[6] A second expedition, in the ship the *St. Luke*, reached as far as Cape Breton in 1623 and coasted the shores of Acadie long enough to lend the ship's name to 'St. Luke's Bay', but as with the first voyage, accomplished very little 'except a certain amount of exploration'.[7]

Alexander's struggle to find prospective settlers for his first voyage is emblematic of the major challenge that Scottish advocates of plantations in North America in the early part of the seventeenth-century faced in overcoming the reticence of the general Scottish public to involve themselves in the New World. Chris Smout has estimated that there may have been as many as 200,000 migrants from Scotland over the seventeenth-century, with the majority of those before 1650 and almost entirely destined for European locales.[8] Scots were

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[4] 'Charter in Favour of Sir William Alexander, Knight, of the Lordship and Barony of New Scotland in America 10 September, 1621.' Trans. Rev. Carlos Slafter, A. M., *Sir William Alexander and American Colonization* (Boston: The Prince Society, 1873), pp. 127-128.
[5] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co, 1922), p. 94.
[6] David Laing, *Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, relating to The Colonization of New Scotland*, p. 15.
[7] William Inglis Morse, *Acadensia Nova (1598-1779) in Two Volumes* (London: Bernard Quarditch Ltd 1935), p. 62; Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (Worcester and London: Ebenezer Baylis and Son Ltd, 1966), p. 34.
[8] T. C. Smout, N. C. Landsman, and T. M. Devine, 'Scottish Emigration in the Early Modern Period', *Europeans on the Move*, Ed. Canny, pp. 76-112. As referenced in Ned C. Landsman, 'Introduction: The Context and Functions of Scottish Involvement with the Americas', *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800*, Ed. Ned C. Landsman (London: Associated University Presses, 2001), p. 19.

especially prevalent in Poland, to which as many as thirty to forty thousand migrated over a period of several decades in the first half of that century.[9] While the Twelve Years' Truce of 1609 brought to a close the campaigns of the Scots Brigade in the Netherlands, the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War in 1618 was a boon to the 'Scottish soldier of fortune' who, in the words of Insh, enjoyed a 'Golden Age' with a multitude of opportunities to take service in the armies of Europe.[10] Unfortunately, this venting of Scottish vitality to the continent overlapped with Scottish designs on Nova Scotia and Newfoundland in the 1620s. Insh has previously contrasted the comparative difficulty of Sir William Alexander to coax 'a small band of Galwegian peasants to join his Nova Scotia expedition' in 1622, to the ease with which Sir Donald Mackay, first Lord Reay, 'in 1626 raised his 3600 men within the brief space of nine weeks' for service in the Thirty Years War.[11]

Scottish economic interests also tended to follow the shifts in economic gravity and the flows of maritime trading commerce of continental Europe, which vastly overshadowed the nascent colonies of North America.[12] According to Landsman, prior to 1650, Scottish merchants and traders that worked outside of Britain worked almost exclusively in the cities of France, Sweden, Denmark and the Low-Countries, with again, a comparatively vast presence in Poland. 'All of those were well-established routes before 1600, and all far outstripped the fledgling colonies in New Scotland as magnets for Scottish emigrants.'[13] Neither of these economic and military affiliations are surprising. 'During the first half of the seventeenth-century,' writes Allan I. MacInnes, 'Scotland was particularly bound to the Dutch by Calvinism and by commerce, to the Swedes by military association and to northern and central Europe by intellectual and confessional linkage.'[14]

Alexander was convinced that it was a 'want of knowledge' of the opportunities and potential of North America that was impeding the Scottish public from focussing its energies on the discoveries of the new world, 'few being willing to adventure upon that wherewith they are not acquainted by their owne experience'.[15] Alexander therefore sought to articulate a

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[9] Ned C. Landsman, 'Introduction: The Context and Functions of Scottish Involvement with the Americas', p. 19.
[10] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686,* p. 8.
[11] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686,* p. 8.
[12] Anthony McFarlane, *The British in the Americas: 1480-1815* (London and New York: Longman Group Ltd, 1994), p. 9.
[13] Ned C. Landsman, 'Introduction: The Context and Functions of Scottish Involvement with the Americas', p. 19.
[14] Allan I. MacInnes, 'Regal Union for Britain, 1603-38', *The New British History: Founding a Modern State 1603-1715,* Ed. Glenn Burgess (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1999), p. 33-34.
[15] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies* (London: Printed by William Stansby, 1624), p. 41.

forceful argument for Scottish imperialist claims to North America, and particularly 'to awaken a deeper practical interest, especially in capitalists' for the 'remunerative character' and potential rewards of planting colonies in the New World.[16] To this end, Alexander published *An Encouragement to Colonies* (1624), offering a justification for Scottish colonialism drawn from classical, biblical, and contemporary events. As shown in his initial grant from King James, the native populations of North America were marginal to the Scots' colonial imagination of Nova Scotia, and dismissed by Alexander and his compatriots as 'wanting both multitude, power, or aime to harme us'.[17] Consequently, Alexander wrote as though he were the sole proprietor of Nova Scotia under the Crown and argued for Scottish colonialism writ large. Insh therefore had grounds to criticise the work for being too orientated around the 'higher instincts' among its readership and being correspondingly vaguer in the details of the prospective colony.[18] Such details were more forthcoming in its companion publication, Robert Gordon of Lochinvar's *Encouragements, for such as shall have intention to bee under-takers in the new plantation of Cape Briton, now New Galloway in America* (1625). Gordon wrote as and to prospective adventurers and divided his work between his own justifications for Scottish participation in colonial enterprise, the 'Motives' for his decision to settle in 'New Galloway', and his 'Offers' to those who might accompany him.[19] The effect of these personal 'Motives' and 'Offers' from the author is to make the character of Robert Gordon directly relevant to the planting of New Galloway. Part of Alexander's appeal to the 'higher instincts' of his readership lies in Nova Scotia's potential to men of industry to become 'the first Founder of a new estate' and the 'Author' of their future posterity's nobility.[20] Gordon's tract thus relates to Alexander's as the first to attempt to match its rhetoric with more practical information and advice.

The Weight of Literature

The promotion of the Nova Scotia plantations of Sir William Alexander and Robert Gordon follows a similar model to other contemporary English and Welsh expressions of colonial rhetoric, in its reliance on classical, biblical, and mythological precedents. History, however

[16] Edmund F. Slafter, 'Memoir of Sir William Alexander', *Sir William Alexander and American Colonization* (Boston: The Prince Society, 1873), p. 48.
[17] Robert Gordon, *Encouragement, for* […] *New Galloway* (Edinburgh: John Wreittoun, 1625), p. D.
[18] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 60-61.
[19] Robert Gordon, *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway*, pp. B3, D3.
[20] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 42.

suspect or insubstantial, played a significant role in shaping 'national' arguments in favour of colonialism. According to Scanlan, colonial projects were one means through which the English came to articulate and define their own sense of nationhood: 'By asking how the English as a nation would fashion their colonial enterprise, they were also asking what it meant to be English.'[21] It follows that similar questions of what it means to be 'Scottish' as an affirmative identity in a colonial and national context are at work within the colonial writings of Alexander and Gordon. The legendary paragons of Madoc of Wales and King Arthur as a preface to the later 'Principal Navigations' were part of what lent Hakluyt's work to promote English trade and exploration their sense of 'national importance'.[22] In the dedication of the second volume of the *Principal Navigations* to Robert Cecil, Hakluyt compared his compilations to Publius Scipio possessing the likenesses of his ancestors in wax, that he and others might be 'vehemently inflamed vnto virtue': '[…] though not in wax, yet in record of writing have I presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie.'[23]

The ability of the English promoters of exploration and navigation to appeal to the 'record of writing' touches on a recurrent theme of Alexander's and Gordon's texts alike, which is their seeming inability to recreate in print a 'Scottish' history of national maritime action. In Alexander's text, this manifests in his initial reference to the Ancient Greeks as the first among the Gentiles which 'did both doe, and write that which was worthie to be remembered […]'.[24] The remembrance of the worthy actions of the Greeks is wholly facilitated by their also having recorded them. From the standpoint of national prestige, not publishing discoveries was seemingly equally ignoble as not having discovered anything at all. Alexander notes for example that the Spanish accounts of their possessions in the New World 'are very sparing' in details of the region, as they preferred to avoid the 'vanity of praises' for the security of private knowledge.[25] Conversely, Alexander expresses a reluctance to repeat 'the many and brave Voyages that at the Sea have happily beene performed by the English, which fame by eternall records hath recommended to be applauded by the best judgements of

[21] Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World, 1583-1671* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 3, 9.
[22] George Bruner Parks, *Richard Hakluyt and The English Voyages*, Ed. James A. Williamson (New York: American Geographical Society, 1928), p. 176.
[23] Richard Hakluyt, 'Dedication', *Principal Navigations* Vol. II (London: George Bishop, Ralph Newbery, and Robert Barker, 1599).
[24] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 3.
[25] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 7-8.

every age […]'.[26] To reiterate the English exploits on the seas would be to further expand the literary footprint of England's recorded achievements, and further emphasise Scotland's relative anonymity in the written form.

Robert Gordon, by contrast, includes in his 'epistle' a brief reference to the 'many discourses of the discovouries' made in recent years by worthy persons of the English nation: '[…] whole Decads are filled with discoveries there, and volumes with their action of plantation.'[27] Drake, Cavendish, Sir Walter Raleigh, Amadas, Arthur, Grenvile, Davis, 'whose memorie shall never die in the North-west parts' etc, are all 'eternalized for their vertues' but with that eternity secured by 'the monuments of their praise-worthie proceedings' in the form of the written text.[28] It does not matter to Gordon that there are likely exaggerations contained in the records of the 'honourable actions' of the dead, which 'increase' and 'multiplie' as their bodies in the grave putrefy.[29] While such comments undermine the veracity of the written record to truthfully record history, they also serve to remind the reader of the potential to live beyond one's life in the written word. What Alexander and Gordon both indirectly demonstrate is the degree to which the culture of early modern Europe was fundamentally 'text driven'.[30] Both Bacon and Raleigh, when promoting the advantages of overseas exploration, typically used the pre-eminence of Spain as a point of reference.[31] As Jennifer Goodman's *Chivalry and Exploration* (1998) has explored, 'a rereading of the major English exploration accounts makes it clear how large the exploits of Columbus, Cortez, and Pizarro loomed in their English contemporaries' consciousness […]'.[32] As exemplified in Goodman's discussion of King Arthur meeting Cortes, or the Redcrosse Knight countering Amadis in Spenser's *Faerie Queene* (1590),[33] the supporters of English exploration created a sense of chivalric purpose in opposition to the Spanish in print. It is the availability of a distinct literary record, 'faithful annals' or not, which served as a resource by which a nation can be described and identified.

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[26] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, pp. 3, 7-8, 24.
[27] Robert Gordon, *Encouragement, for* […] *New Galloway*, p. 2-3.
[28] Robert Gordon, *Encouragement, for* […] *New Galloway*, p. 2-3.
[29] Robert Gordon, *Encouragement, for* […] *New Galloway ay*, p. 4.
[30] Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) p. 11.
[31] See Julian Martin, *Francis Bacon, the State, and the Reform of Natural Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 133; Walter Raleigh *The Discovery of Guiana* (London: Robert Robertson, 1596), p. 41.
[32] Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration: 1298-1630* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), p. 168.
[33] Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration*, p. 169.

> It woulde bee a Historie of a large volume to recite the adventures of the Spaniards and Portugalles, their constant resolutions, with such incomparable honour, so farre beyond beliefe in their discoveries, and plantations, as may well condemn us of too much imbecillitie, sloth, and negligence.
> *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway* (1625).[34]

In the absence of a comparable record to create a rivalling identity, and without participating in the intended scheme of plantation in Nova Scotia, Gordon fears that the Scots' identity will be defined by anonymity. The adventures of the Portuguese and Spaniards allowed then to discover marvels beyond the ken and credulity of those who dismissed their efforts and remained inactive. To remain inert now after the histories written of their exploits are known is to be considered rife with 'imbecillitie, sloth, and negligence'.

Scholars have previously attempted to account for the lack of an encouraging Scottish maritime record that the early proponents of Nova Scotia could have drawn upon. Insh has argued that the Scot, while 'a wanderer both by instinct and by tradition, was neither by instinct nor by tradition a seafarer' of the kind epitomised by the voyages of the Spanish or Portuguese.[35] Insh attempted to demonstrate an attitudinal difference between Scots and the English in their literary and imaginative conceptions of their relationship to the sea through a comparison between Elizabethan sea-shanties from both nations. The English ditties emphasise the character of the bluff sailor who overcomes the dangers of the sea by hearty skill and courage. By contrast, the Scottish seafaring poems of the same century demonstrate an immediate change of mood: 'The sea is no longer a rough but hearty antagonist: it is a fierce implacable spirit: and sea-faring is a tragic contest between antagonists unequally matched. There is no drawing back from the contest when duty demands it: but the struggle is envisaged with grim and desperate resolution.'[36] These differences are unsurprising given the environmental differences at the extreme between the North Sea and Channel crossings, but those same seas had at one time held a lively record of sea-voyages that formed an intrinsic part of Scotland's history. The seafaring Celtic saints, Patrick, Columba, and Brendan, who are variously associated with Ireland, Wales, the West coast of Scotland and the North East of England from the fifth century onwards, would at one time have been suitable examples of a 'colonising' maritime Christianity from the days of the Scottish Dal Riata.[37] However, it is likely that such hagiography was ill-suited to an age of post-Reformation Calvinism, with its

[34] Robert Gordon, 'Motives', *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway*, p. C2-C3.
[35] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, pp. 15-16.
[36] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, pp. 12-15.
[37] G. J. Marcus, *The Conquest of the North Atlantic* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1980), pp. 8, 17.

hostility to the 'popery' of the Irish Gaels. Contemporary circumstances, rather than historical record, might have played the more significant role in what aspects of Scottish history or even 'British' history were accessible instruments to Scottish colonial rhetoric.

The framework of ancient history in the English accounts, such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of the origins of Britain, had featured in the justification of Edward I's attempted subjugation of Scotland in the late thirteenth century. Such a historiography was uncomfortable from a Scottish perspective. In its turn, medieval Scottish historiographers had developed a 'luxuriant mythology […] designed to counteract […] its Anglo-Welsh competitor', which could provide a distinction from any sense of English pre-eminence or prerogative power.[38] This historical distinction had typically centred on Scotland's 'never conquer'd Crown',[39] which emphasises both Scotland's dynastic integrity and martial prowess:

> No forraine yoke of bondage ever bore
> When all the sur-face of this spacious Round,
> Where either Land or Iland [sic] could bee found,
> That might inlarge *Romes* Empire was made thrall
> Her ravenous Eagles soaring over all,
> You kept your bounds unconquer'd to this day,
> And his *Romes* Empire bound her conquests stay,
> And made her powerful hoasts your harme so feare,
> That they huge ramparts of defence did reare
> Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier* (1629).[40]

Scotland's martial history was one of the 'particulars' that enforced a sense of national distinction between Scotland and England. 'Scottish historians not only prided themselves on the antiquity and continuous independence of their nation, even going so far as to claim for the Scottish king precedence by antiquity over all the kings of Europe, but warned England of the failure of the great martial peoples of the past to conquer the Scots.'[41] The reminder of 'a glorious past of honour, liberty and martial glory' functioned, according to Kidd, as an

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[38] Arthur H. Williamson, 'Scots, Indians and Empire: The Scottish Politics of Civilisation, 1519-1609', *Past and Present*, 150 (Feb. 1996), p. 69; Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past: Scottish Whig Historians and the Creation of an Anglo-British Identity, 1689-c. 1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p. 16-17.
[39] William Alexander, 'Parenthesis', *Recreations with the Muses* (London: Tho. Harper, 1637), p. 291.
[40] Sp Coll NBG 60 – I.38, Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier* (Edinburgh: John Wreittoun, 1629), p. A2.
[41] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p. 24.

inherited sense of national self and autonomy which had been preserved 'in the face of such powerful adversaries as the Romans, Danes, Saxons, Normans and Plantagenets'.[42] England, by contrast, had succumbed to every passing invader. To acknowledge the various former kingdoms, tribes, and territories of which Scotland and its population was comprised, and which typically overlapped with its southern neighbour, was to compromise the hegemony and coherence of this particularly assertive Scottish identity.[43] However, as seen above, this martial history of national action and defence was a ready and familiar feature in the promotional materials around the raising of regiments for the Thirty Years' War that was the principal rival to Alexander's and Gordon's efforts of recruitment to the New World. Lawder's *The Scottish Souldier* is a useful contrast to the anxiety of Gordon and Alexander to describe Scotland's maritime endeavours.

> For Warre hath beene the practice of this Land,
> Since *Fergus* footed first our *Scottish* sand;
> […]
> Why should not we then, sprung of a warlike race,
> Our worthy grandsires ways and footing trace?
> To show this wretched world that courage bold,
> Doeth live in us which shinde in them of old,
> […]
> Brave fellowes! Doe but backe reflect your sight
> On Ages past, with wonder and delight
> You will transported find an uncouth fire
> Burne in your breasts with flames of brave desire,
> To make you one day like these *Heroes* great,
> Whose memorie lives fresh and valour yet; […]
> Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier* (1629).[44]

Lawder traces a history of the Scottish involvement in the noble houses of Europe from the middle ages, touching on notable families who had risen to prominence in the service of the Italian city states and, primarily, the French army. The Buchans, the Stuarts, the Douglases, the Hamiltons, all feature as the paragons of Scottish patriotism, 'exemplifying the national

[42] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p. 76.
[43] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p. 39; Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, p. 12.
[44] Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier* (Edinburgh: John Wreittoun, 1629).

pride and valour so typical of the Scottish character'.[45] '[…] those noble Heroes dead, / Whose worth, surviving time, shall never die, / But live enrolled in Eternitie?'[46] As with the later references to Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia, through whose bloodline the later Hanoverian succession was confirmed, Lawder's comments on contemporaneous events all reflect the changing circumstances that the reign of first James and now Charles, as kings of 'Great Britain', is seen to bring about. While Scots had taken service with many other nations, there was also a potential for Scotland itself to change the face of Europe:

> *Denmark* our gallants daylie doth employ
> In hard exploits to worke their foes annoy,
> And finds them prove true *Scotsmen* like themselves,
> Where blood empurpleth oft the streams of Elve.
> *Sweden* emplores the ayde of *Scottish* bands,
> Which in her best defence most bravelie stands
> Against the fierce *Polonian Cassiques* force
> And sees them shake the Squadrons of their horse.
> The World all finds our help, or feares our harm.
> If once our *CHARLES* should in his anger arme,
> O what an Armie then should spread her winges
> Over all *Europe*'s face to daunt her Kings!
> Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier* (1629).[47]

No doubt because of this change in dynastic circumstance, and because the primary appeal of the work was to the continental rather than domestic theatre of war, Lawder does not speak too directly to the historical conflicts between England and Scotland. His reference, however, to the Scottish involvement in the battle of Poitiers and the role of Scots as past leaders within the French army highlights the inescapable theme of Scottish medieval history, assisting their allies in France against the English as part of the 'Auld Alliance'.[48]
Such cultural signposts of national sensibility were ill suited to providing examples of an assertive Scottish colonial rhetoric in an era defined by the settlement of the English and Irish

[45] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p. 165.
[46] Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier*, p. 6.
[47] Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier*, p. 10.
[48] Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, p. 25.

thrones upon the King of Scotland in 1603, although they reappear in the divisive fallout of the later Darien scheme at the end of the century.[49] The promotion of Nova Scotia was particularly ill-served by this history, as the historical alliance of Scottish and French interests were at variance in the New World, where Scottish claims to North America brought it into conflict with French claims to 'Acadie' and 'Quebec'. The attempted settlement of Nova Scotia was only ever successful with the assistance of English naval and military support, and with a high proportion of English settlers.[50] These circumstances also explain why the one 'dazzling epock' of the old Scottish navy,[51] which saw the construction and launch of the *Michael* for the Scottish naval fleet in 1511/12, and the concurrent actions of Scotland's Lord Admiral Sir Andrew Barton (d. 1511), were not drawn upon in Alexander's *Encouragements to Colonies* either. The *Michael*, also known as the *Great Michael*, was in its day the largest ship in Europe, and in keeping with Scotland's traditional adherence to the 'Auld Alliance', was deployed against the English to assist France during the War of the League of Cambrai (1508-1516). This conflict eventually led to the Battle of Flodden and the death of James IV of Scotland in 1513. William Alexander references James IV primarily as the son-in-law of Henry VII of England, and as the point of rhetorical accessibility to both the Scottish claims to the English throne and the 'English' claim to North America. Reference to the role of the *Michael* and the war between James IV and Henry VIII would not have been politically desirable.

Similarly, Andrew Barton, while High Admiral of Scotland, was decried as a pirate for his predations on English and Portuguese shipping and was eventually killed in 1511 following a naval battle with English forces led by Sir Edward Howard. The most significant figure in recent Scottish naval history was inevitably tied to conflict and defeat at the hands of the English. Mark Netzloff, when writing of the contrasting popular celebration of Sir Francis Drake's circumnavigations between the Elizabethan and Victorian period, has emphasised the relation of national affiliation and identity with 'historical memory'.[52] While he is absent from Scottish works promoting maritime enterprise, 'the Scottish "Drake"' does reappear in a broadsheet ballad celebrating his death as a 'pirate', printed in London 1630.[53] Jowitt has

[49] Sp Coll Spencer 56: *Scotland's Grievances, Relating to Darien etc. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the Parliament* (1700).
[50] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 113.
[51] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 21.
[52] Mark Netzloff, 'Sir Francis Drake's Ghost: Piracy, Cultural Memory, and Spectral Nationhood', *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, Ed. Claire Jowitt (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 137-39.
[53] Anon, *A True Relation of the Life and Death of Sir Andrew Barton, a Pirate and Rover on the Seas* (London: E.W., 1630).

consequently speculated whether the textual representation of so significant a figure to Scottish maritime history as a 'pirate' might reflect the changes in the relations between England and Scotland since Barton's cruises of the coast of Britain, and the reading of history by a Carolinian audience.[54] Kathrin Zickermann, in her research on the 'British' community among the Merchant Adventurers of early modern Hamburg, has described the evolution of a 'Scottish-Stuart diplomatic corps' in operation in northern Europe, which attempted to unify and represent the interests of English and Scottish merchants alike in that City.[55] A 'Scottish' conception of plantation, trade, and expansion that could be articulated within a 'British' framework of co-operative enterprise between the Scots and the English was more amenable to the immediate circumstances of Scottish colonial efforts. Historical memory and its influence on a contemporary appreciation for the modern settlement of England and Scotland can be seen elsewhere in William Alexander's poetry. Alexander, with some sensitivity, highlighted the importance of the Union of Crowns to both Scotland and England, by contrasting the potential disasters to both countries had either nation's dynastic alliances with France and Spain resulted in differing successions:

> Of *Englands Mary*, had it beene the chance
> To make King *Philip* Father a Sonne,
> The *Spaniards* high designes so to advance,
> All *Albions* beauties had beene quite o're-runne:
> Or yet if *Scotlands Mary* had heir'd *France,*
> Our bondage then had by degrees begun:
> Of which, if that stranger hold a part,
> To take the other that would meanes impart.
>
> Thus from two dangers we were twise preserv'd,
> When as we seem'd without recovery lost,
> As from their freedome those who freely swerv'd
> And suffered strangers of our bounds to boast;
> Yet were we for this happy time reserv'd,
> And, but to hold it deare, a little croft:

[54] Claire Jowitt, 'Introduction: Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650', *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, Ed. Claire Jowitt (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 4-6.
[55] Kathrin Zickermann, '"*Briteannia Ist Mein Patria*", Scotsmen and the "British" Community in Hamburg', in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Eds. Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 254, 259-60.

> That of the *Stewarts* the Illustrious race,
> Might, like their mindes, a Monarchie embrace.
> William Alexander, 'Parenthesis', *Recreations with the Muses* (1637).[56]

Alexander's poem suggests that Scots could not be unconcerned with the threat of a Spanish universal monarchy, funded by their possessions of the Spanish Americas, to the independence of 'smaller European states' which so defined contemporary English foreign policy.[57] The potential of alternative successions in England and Scotland's recent past reflects the vitality of the Union of Crowns to a broader European struggle which, in the words of Morrill, had profound consequences on 'the future constitutional and confession relationship of the component parts of Britain'.[58] 'James inherited from his Stewart predecessors', writes Jenny Wormald, 'the belief that Scotland and her monarchy had an important place in Europe.'[59] What is evident from Alexander's literary work, and his promotion of Nova Scotia in the newly 'British' context, is that both the belief in Scotland's significance, as well as the struggle against the broadening hegemony of Spain and France, was not contained within Europe but had to be extended to the New World. In Lawder's *The Scottish Souldier* a similar appreciation for the settlement of the Union of Crowns and its future potential can be seen to moderate its otherwise bloodthirsty tone:

> As now this Iland all hath but one Name,
> One *King*, one *Faith*, one *Language*, and one *Lawe*,
> So let one *Love* your *Hearts* together drawe,
> That all *Scotes-English, English-Scotes*, may be
> Possest with that same minde which ruleth mee.
> Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier* (1629).[60]

It is clear from these materials how important the realignment of the closely intertwined domestic histories of Scotland and England was to expressions of contemporary Scottish identity. In the case of Lawder's calls for continental conquests, it also disrupts some of the

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[56] William Alexander, 'Parenthesis', *Recreations with the Muses* (London: Tho. Harper, 1637), p. 292.
[57] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), pp. 2-3.
[58] John Morrill, 'The British Problem, c. 1534-1707', in *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, Eds. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), p. 23.
[59] Jenny Wormald, 'James VI, James I and the Identity of Britain', in *The British Problem, c. 1534-1707: State Formation in the Atlantic Archipelago*, Eds. Brendan Bradshaw and John Morrill (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press Ltd, 1996), p. 160.
[60] Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier* (Edinburgh: John Wreittoun, 1629), p. 11.

assumptions behind what Armitage calls the 'Anglo-British' nature of early British imperialism.[61] As will be discussed, both England and Scotland were enthusiastic actors in the joint plantation of Ireland. And yet, while classical, biblical and historical justifications for the plantation of Ireland flowed from Scottish and English pens alike in the early seventeenth-century,[62] these sources of authority came under increasing scrutiny.

The Reorientation of Historic Memory

In the absence of national forerunners to serve, as they are intended in Lawder's *Scottish Souldier* and Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, as 'like images' of the reader's famous predecessors 'with hope of the like effect in their posteritie', William Alexander refers to biblical antecedents for the precedent of colonisation and plantations:[63]

> […] the world in her infancy, and innocency, was first peopled after this manner. The next generations succeeding Shem planted in Asia, Chams in Africke, and Japhets in Europe: Abraham and Lee were Captains of Colonies, the Land then being as free as the Seas are now […] not taking notices of natives without impediment.
> *An Encouragement to Colonies* (1624).[64]

Similarly Robert Gordon, drawing on the 'records of divine Truth' and 'preceding praise-worthie Fathers, and their memorable offspring' contained within the biblical canon, argues that plantations and colonies have been the universal policy of the world since its creation through the progeny of Adam, and later Noah.[65] Mosaic history provided a common lineage of descent among all the powers of Christian Europe, and a common framework between European powers by which to understand the world.[66] However, while certainly not a remarkable perspective amongst the theological antiquarians of the period, it was nevertheless an increasingly incoherent understanding of the early modern world following the voyages of discovery in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The discovery of the New World and the existence of its native populations, outside the understood lineages of

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[61] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 3, 6.
[62] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 198; Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 40.
[63] Richard Hakluyt, 'Dedication', *Principal Navigations*, Vol. II (1599).
[64] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, pp. 1-2.
[65] Gordon, 'Epistle', *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway*, p. B.
[66] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Ed. J. B. Bury (1776; London: Methuen & Co 1896), p. 216-217.

Noah's children, in the words of Kidd, threatened to subvert the 'unquestioned authority of European standards' and the credibility of the Bible as a historical document.[67] At the same time, asserting the legitimacy of the Japhetan geneaology necessarily undermined Scottish colonial rhetoric as it removes any distinction of nationhood: by such means '[...] the wild Irishman, as well as the wild Tartar, could point out the individual son of Japhet from whose loins his ancestors were lineally descended'.[68] The biblical framework alone, then, was unsuited as an argument for national involvement in colonial enterprise beyond the generic.

Of the biblical and classical literary antecedents which the Alexander feels appropriate as precursors to Scottish colonial endeavours, however, there is a recurrent theme beyond plantation, summed up by the phrase, 'from a despised beginning […] to the height of greatnesse!' Alexander thereby recounts the founding of Sidan, and Tire, and the swiftness with which they became 'so much renowned both by sacred and human writers'. Mighty Carthage is noted as having 'first no more ground allowed her than could be compassed by the extended dimensions of a bulls hide'.[69] Similarly Alexander's description of the Aeneas story for the founding of Rome emphasises the Trojans' status as but 'a few scandalized fugitives' who 'did rise from small appearances to that exorbitancy of power, which at this day is remembered with admiration'.[70] The self-evident parallel that the author wishes to draw between the record of antiquity and the prospects of Scottish colonisation is that even with humble origins there is potential for future greatness through industry. This 're-reading' of classical history is a creative attempt to anticipate Scotland's future prospects through colonisation, by the example of the humanist histories which had for so long appeared inaccessible to an historical conception of Scotland. According to Arthur H. Williamson, 'The fundamental and inescapable model of civility derived from Graeco-Roman antiquity, and the most immediate problem was to imagine the realm [Scotland] within its terms: might there be a classical Scotland or, alternatively, a Roman Britain?'[71] As already illustrated, much of the projection of Scottish identity was defined by its resistance to external invasion, from the Romans to the Normans. The Antonine Wall may have connected the Forth to the Clyde, but there was a greater emphasis placed on the regions of the country which had been on the periphery of the Roman empire than had ever formed part of 'Roman Britain'.

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[67] Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism*, p. 11-12.
[68] Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, p. 217.
[69] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 2.
[70] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 2.
[71] Arthur H. Williamson, 'Scots, Indians and Empire', p. 54.

Something of this associated identity can be seen in the Counter-Reformation propaganda that attended the role of Gustavus Adolphus in the Thirty Years' War, which included caricatures of 'savage Livonians, Lapps and Scots sweeping out of the northern forests to rape and pillage' in an embodiment of the uncivilised 'pre-social wildmen of traditional Europe'.[72]

As with the history of conflict between England and Scotland, however, Alexander declines to be bound by the limitations of the example of the Ancients, and the presumption of Scottish barbarism. Following his description of the actions of the ancient world, Alexander declares that he is loathe 'to dig up the Tombes' of those buried in oblivion, wishing to 'leave these disregarded relics of greatness' to witness the power of time: 'Neither will I after the common custome of the world, overvaluing things past disvalue the present.'[73] As a commentary on the 'common custom' of the world, Alexander's dismissal of the supremacy of the Ancients is relevant to contemporary developments in empiricism and learning. The discoveries of the New World had largely undermined the popular conception of the Ancients as the complete repositories of knowledge. 'Surely' Bacon wrote, 'it would be disgraceful in a time where the regions of the material globe […] the seas and stars, have been opened up far and wide for us to see, if the limits of our intellectual world were restricted to the narrow discoveries of the ancients.'[74] The absence of Scotland in the public record of discoveries, as with its apparent dismissal within antiquity, was not to determine the boundaries of its future potential. Instead, Alexander specifically uses the examples of the classical and biblical world to articulate how, through the Scottish plantation of Ireland, Scots were 'inferiour to none that hath beene heretofore' and had rather surpassed the exemplars of the Ancient world:

> The *Babylonians* having conquered the *Israelites* did transplant them as exposed to ruine in a remote countrey, sending others of their owne Nation (that they might be utterly extirpated) to inhabite *Samaria* in their places. And our King hath only divided the most seditious families of the *Irish* by dispersing them in sundry parts within the Countrey, not to extinguish but to dissipate their power, who now neither have, nor give cause to feare. The *Romanes* did build some Townes which they did plant with their owne people by all rigour to curbe the Natives next adjacent thereunto, And our King hath incorporated some of his best *Britaines* with the *Irish*, planted in sundry places without power to oppresse, but onely to civilize them by their example. Thus

[72] Arthur H. Williamson, 'Scots, Indians and Empire', pp. 50-52.
[73] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 4.
[74] Francis Bacon, 'Novum Organum', in *Novum Organum, with Other Parts of The Great Instauration*, Trans/Ed. Peter Urbach and John Gibson (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1995), p. 93.

> *Ireland* which heretofore was scarcely discovered, and only irritated by others, proving to the *English* as the *Lowe-Countries* did to *Spaine*, a meanes whereby to waste their men, and their money, is now really conquered, becoming a strength to the State, and a glorie to his Majesties government, who hath in the settling therof excelled all that was commended in any ancient Colonie.
> William Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies* (1624).[75]

Alexander's comment on the plantation of Ireland is a transitional moment in the text. Having previously allowed the reader to appreciate the classical record of small cities and states rising to long admired prominence, the colonisation of Ireland provides a case study of modern colonial achievement. From this instance, Alexander allows for a rhetoric of supremacy which endures in the text to all future reference to conflicts in the classical world. One may note, however, the absence of an explicit mention of Scots and Scotland in relation to the settlement of Ireland. What was once a recurrent problem for the 'English' is instead solved through the incorporation of the 'best Britains' under the unifying rule of 'our King'. Even in the instance chosen by the author to showcase contemporary colonial achievement, actions taken under the auspices of 'our King' cannot be split by the author between the subjects of the King of Scotland and the King of England. Part of what distinguished the Ulster plantations under James was that, to quote Canny, 'it was to be a "British" effort, and it was so pronounced by the king who took particular pride in "this Plantation" as being "the greatest moate that ever came in the Rebels eyes".'[76] As others have noted and we have seen, the Scots were no strangers to the justifications for colonialism that the classical and biblical canon provided. Canny simply describes the enterprise of Ulster as an extension of the same efforts over the previous centuries of lowland Scots to exert political control and authority over the Gaelic Highlands and Islands, 'a task that had become more urgent with the progress of the Protestant Reformation in the Scottish lowlands'.[77] The citing of the Scottish plantations in Ireland by Alexander and Gordon as worthy examples of Scottish enterprise which showcase the Scottish suitability for imperial expansion to Nova Scotia lends credence to this analysis. The perspective enunciated by Perceval-Maxwell, however, that Ulster was the testing ground for Scottish empire and their first efforts in imitation of other European colonising powers, is unsatisfying for several reasons.[78]

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[75] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 4.
[76] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 197.
[77] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 198.
[78] M. Perceval-Maxwell, 'Preface', *The Scottish Migration to Ulster in the Reign of James I* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1973), p. x.

Looking at the circumstances in Scotland that provided for the involvement of Scots in the Irish plantations, it is possible to see more clearly what exactly Alexander and Gordon hoped to imitate, beyond any description of their intended course of action. According to Raymond Gillespie, one reason for the enthusiasm in Scotland for the plantations of Ulster was their potential as a vent for a surplus population, caused by a rapid rise in the population of south-west Scotland in the late sixteenth century.[79] A regional concentration of adventurers was seen to be an advantage, at least in the case of the 1610 Irish plantations, as regional and kin-ties among the migrant populations were seen to establish reasonably stable enclaves.[80] In addition, 'the opportunities presented to the Scots in the north of Ireland tended to diminish family feuds in Scotland. Plantation demanded co-operation between men,' a welcome relief to the local and national governments.[81] Alexander's initial voyage from London to Kirkcudbright near Dumfries and Galloway for supplies and prospective adventurers, before departing for Nova Scotia in 1622, therefore appears to have been an effort to target the same communities that had previously proved open to the Ulster plantations. Robert Gordon's advocacy of 'New Galloway' at Cape Briton as offering 'gainful employment' can be read as attempting something similar as well. 'Scotland', writes Alexander, 'by reason of her populousness' had already been 'constrained to disburden her selfe (like painfull Bees)', every year sending 'forth swarmes' of people from her shores.[82] The image of the hive from which it is natural for a surplus population to 'swarm', as described in Alexander's text, is a means to describe the nation as organism for whom colonialism and migration offers the answer to pressing social and economic problems.[83] The 'considerable growth' and relative peace of the Scottish economy in the early seventeenth-century[84] had also caused merchants to seek outlets for their accumulated capital in the Irish projects.[85] This ready capital had allowed the Scots who enlisted as undertakers in Ulster to be supported with financial guarantees from among the petty gentry and 'urban middle class'.[86] The establishment of the Nova Scotia baronets by James VI at the suggestion of Alexander was apparently in imitation of the baronets of Ulster from 1611 and was intended to serve the same purpose of raising

[79] Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster: The Settlement of East Ulster, 1600-1641* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1985), p. 34-35.
[80] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*, pp. 209, 222-23.
[81] M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, p. 311.
[82] William Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 38.
[83] Thomas Scanlan, *Colonial Writing and the New World*, p. 98.
[84] Matthew Richard Greenhall, 'The Evolution of the British Economy: Anglo-Scottish Trade and Political Union, an Inter-Regional Perspective, 1580-1750', Durham University Theses (2011), pp. 61-63.
[85] Raymond Gillespie, *Colonial Ulster*, p. 36-37.
[86] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British*, p. 232.

money from among the lesser nobility of Scotland, in this instance for the colonisation of Nova Scotia.[87] The mechanisms of the plantation of Ulster can be seen to inform the arguments and execution of the planting of Nova Scotia, insofar as they appeared to target the same communities of potential migrants, and attempted to replicate the same means of encouraging and funding the scheme. However, the perception of the success of the plantation of Ulster and Ireland more broadly also offers an indication of how it provided an argument for *further* plantation and colonisation by the Scots. Among Robert Gordon's 'Motives' for undertaking plantation settlement in the new world, he references the 'success' of the plantation of Ireland as part of his argument for the virtues of employment and commodities which are seen to enrich Scotland, Ireland, and England alike:

> Is not a lawful search for such commodities, to bee preferred to an idle sloathfulness? And an honourable policie in a lawfull plantation abroad, before unlawfull monopolies […]
> May not the fortunate successe of the plantation of Ireland, so fresh and recent to all, whence so great commodities are brought both to England, and Scotland, and whereby the Countrie it selfe is enriched, and wee so benefited, bee inticements to induce us to the like.
> *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway in America* (1625).[88]

As pointed out by Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, from the perspective of the Crown, the Ulster plantations would not have been considered colonisation in the imperial sense, 'as he could send his subjects anywhere in his dominions he saw fit, as long as they strengthened the society the king hoped to rule over'.[89] The extent to which James, and later Charles were seen to rule a unified state, 'Which hath no borders, but the Seas, and Skies' should not be underestimated in considering the contemporary colonial attitudes.[90] There were, of course, close ties between the Irish provinces and Scotland long before the Union of Crowns in 1603, and a natural cultural overlap between the north-east of Ireland and the west coast of Scotland. As in earlier centuries, the Irish Sea and the North Channel united rather than divided communities between Ulster and Galloway. While the potential of a 'Gaelic international' polity bridging Scotland and Ireland was disintegrating by the sixteenth century, according to Jane E. A. Dawson there was still an 'extensive interchange of bards,

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[87] William Inglis Morse, *Acadensia Nova (1598-1779)*, pp. 57-58.
[88] Robert Gordon, 'Motives', *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway*, p. C3.
[89] Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, 'Introduction', *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Eds. Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 6.
[90] William Alexander, 'Parenthesis', *Recreations with the Muses*, p. 290.

musicians and scholars' as well as mercenary soldiers, 'between the two regions'.[91] Perceval-Maxwell, for example, cites the marriage of Margery Bisset, one of the Norman settlers of Ireland, to one of the Macdonald Lords of the Isles in the fourteenth century as founding the claim of Clan Donald to the Glens of Antrim, a Scottish claim to Ireland that would be recognised by English Law.[92] On her marriage to Tirlough Luineach in 1569, Agnes Campbell had brought over 1000 men to settle with her in the heart of Strabane, County Tyrone. 'At the beginning of the seventeenth-century', writes Perceval-Maxwell, 'the settlement consisted of some 60-80 families and still retained a distinctly Scottish identity'.[93] Going further back, beyond the campaign of Edward Bruce, brother to Robert the Bruce, to become High King of Ireland, there was a strand of Scottish historiography that considered Scotland as having been 'seeded' from Ireland: 'Unlike the Tudors whose rights to Ireland were due to conquest,' and papal grant, 'James could claim direct descent not only from Fergus MacEarc who had arrived from Ulster as first king of the Scottish Gaels in 500 [A.D.], but also from the kings of the other provinces of Munster, Leinster and Connacht.'[94] The Scottish migration to Ulster was therefore 'natural', to the degree that there had been a movement of people 'spilling back and forth across the north channel since the Celts first inhabited the British Isles'.[95] When comparing the numbers of migrants from Scotland in this time period, Dobson has estimated around 30,000 Scots were settled in Poland-Lithuania, 'with lesser numbers elsewhere on the continent.'[96] 'Looking specifically at migration from Scotland', writes Patrick Fitzgerald, 'it has been suggested that 14,000 Scots came to Ireland between the beginning of the century and 1625.'[97] In contrast, those voyaging west to the Americas are estimated to number somewhere in the region of 7,000, with only a few hundred of those concerned in Nova Scotia.[98] In whatever terms it might have been written about by the promoters of plantation colonies, Ireland was clearly not considered a 'colonial' destination in the same order as the New World by the actual migrants and undertakers of

[91] Jane E. A. Dawson, 'Two Kingdoms or Three?: Ireland in Anglo-Scottish Relations in the Middle of the Sixteenth Century', *Scotland and England 1286-1815*, Ed. Roger A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1987), pp. 113-14, 130-31.
[92] M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, pp. 2-3.
[93] M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, p. 68.
[94] Allan I. MacInnes, 'Regal Union for Britain, 1603-38', p. 34.
[95] Karl S. Bottigheimer, 'Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Westward Enterprise 1536-1660', *The Westward Enterprise: English Activities in Ireland, the Atlantic, and America 1480-1650*, Eds. K. R. Andrews, N. P Canny and P. E. H. Hair (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), p. 57.
[96] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 105-06.
[97] Patrick Fitzgerald, 'Scottish Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth-century', *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Eds. Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 28.
[98] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 105-06.

colonial schemes. According to Canny, during the continuous settlement of Ireland in this time period there was a pervasive awareness among the statesmen of England that Ulster and Scotland 'were, in several respects, part of the same polity and economy' and thus ideally suited for each other.[99] Moreover, the participation of Scots in the plantation of Ireland was seen as necessary if rebellion was to be avoided following the death of Queen Elizabeth.[100] From the perspective of Gordon and Alexander, the example of the plantation of Ireland, while self-justified as 'settling' the nation, was not an example of colonialism. As with their newly declared supremacy over the example of the Ancients, the Scottish involvement in the Irish plantations was taken as an indication of the potential strength and benefits of a unified 'British' polity to national policy, as embodied by the Crown:

> But what a mightie state is this I see?
> A little world that all true worth inherites,
> Strong without art, entrench'd within the sea,
> Abounding in brave men full of great spirits:
> It seemes this ile would boast, and so she may,
> To be the soveraigne of the world some day.
> William Alexander, *Some Verse: Written* […] *at the time of his Majesties first entrie into England* (1603?).[101]

'Inheriting the New World'.

As Kidd has written, 'pride in her ancient monarchy was at the heart of Scottish patriotism'.[102] In an era defined by the Union of Crowns, however, the comparative treatment of the newly relevant intertwined Scottish and English dynastic heritage has a further consequence on Scottish claims to North America. The reign of Henry VII was a common feature within the histories of European exploration and travel accounts published in England in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* and Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* (1596), the reign of Henry VII, and his refusal to endorse the expedition of Columbus, particularly serves as a warning to the reader and monarch against undue

[99] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650*, p. 192-93.
[100] M. Perceval-Maxwell, *The Scottish Migration to Ulster*, p. 46.
[101] William Alexander, 'Some Verse: Written […] at the time of his Majesties first entrie into England', in *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander*, Vol. II (Glasgow: Maurice Ogle & Co. 1872), p. 328.
[102] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p. 25.

incredulity regarding the claims of the New World. 'The offer of the discouery of the *West Indies* by *Christopher Columbus* to king *Henry* the seuenth in the yeere 1488 the 13 of February' and the missed opportunity the refusal afforded the English state was to be grievously lamented.[103] Laurence Keymiss in his complementary work to Raleigh's own, *A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana* (1596), writes in similar terms that such was the strangeness of a report of a 'Western Indies' and a new world abounding in treasures, that the gravity of King Henry VII would not allow him to believe it: '[…] the penance of that incredulity lieth even now heavy on our shoulders, the example forethreatening […].'[104] Although a fascinating example of early modern travel writing inviting the suspension of disbelief, the same 'mistake' by Henry VII was utilised by the Scottish promoters of colonial enterprise to 'insert' Scottish claims to North America into 'the book of memorie'.[105] As with his English counterparts, Alexander refers to Henry VII in his *Encouragement to Colonies* as 'the Salomon of England […] his judgement onely condemned for neglecting that good occasion which was first offered unto him by Columbus'.[106] Unlike his English counterparts, however, Alexander emphasises Henry VII's efforts to 'repaire his errour' by sending forth explorers who discovered Newfoundland 'and this part of the Continent of America now intended to bee planted by his Majesties Subjects under the name of New England, and New Scotland'.[107]

In a work otherwise barren of examples of Scottish overseas exploration, or the means for the Scottish state to claim a right to territories in the 'New World' through literary or practical exploits, the significance of Henry VII to Scottish imperialist claims to North America is striking. As the father to Margaret Tudor, who married first James IV (1473-1513) of Scotland and later Archibald Douglass (1489-1557), Earl of Angus, it was through Margaret Tudor that James VI of Scotland had a claim to the English throne by both his paternal and maternal lineage and thus united the crowns in 1603. By citing the reign of Henry VII for the establishment of New England and New Scotland, Alexander in effect lays a Scottish claim to lands in North America as part of that inheritance. The Union of Crowns has thus made the

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[103] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiqves and Discoueries of the English Nation*, Vol. III, Second Edition (London: George Bishop, Ralfe Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1600), p. 2.
Walter Raleigh, *The Discovery of Guiana* (London: Robert Robertson, 1596), p. 217.
[104] Richard Hakluyt, 'A Relation of the second Voyage to Guiana, performed and written in the yeere 1596, by *Laurence Keymis* Gent', *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiques, and Discoueries of the English Nation*, Vol III, Second Edition (London: George Bishop, Ralfe Newberie, and Robert Barker, 1600), p. 668.
[105] Robert Gordon, 'Articles', *Encouragements for New Galloway*, p. D.
[106] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 8.
[107] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 8.

New World rhetorically 'accessible' to Scottish promoters of plantations. This is reflected further in Alexander's text when he writes of Henry VII, hoping that: 'the fruits of his happie raigne still growing to a greater perfection and now ripe to bee gathered by this age, as he made way by the marriage of his eldest daughter for uniting these two Nations at home, so did hee the same likewise by this discouerie abroad […]'.[108] To the knowing reader, there is now a sense of irony to Alexander's attributing Scotland's claims to the New World in his dedication to Prince Charles' 'Royall Father', James VI and I of Scotland and England, 'during whose raigne, these seeds of Scepters haye beene first from hence sowne in America […]'.[109] Although an admittedly tangential imaginative point of access to overseas territory, the role of royalty was instrumental to Alexander and Gordon's conception of the right of the Scottish state to expand its influence overseas: 'No Worke', Alexander declares of then Prince Charles in his 'Epistle', 'hath more need of your countenance, then the *Encouraging of Colonies* […]'.[110]

Another aspect of the 'accessibility' of America to a Scottish articulation of empire lies in Alexander's appropriation of the existing literary record of actions taken in the 'New World' by other European nation states, amongst them Spain, France, and England. Although claiming to leave descriptions of the Spanish exploits 'to their own Histories' there is a self-conscious moment in the text as Alexander notes that the Spanish do not write much of their own claimed territories. The Spanish are sparing in reports of their estates, keeping strangers out, 'wishing to enjoy that which they love in private' and reluctant 'to procure unto themselves the vexation that they might suffer by the earnest pursuit of emulating rivals'.[111] Even when recorded, however, written travels which remained unpublished, or which remained 'hidden' from the eyes of rival nations by remaining in their original languages, also served the purpose of keeping such details privileged. Hakluyt's 'transgressive' translation of Laudonnière's exploration of North America in 1587,[112] or the inclusion of Cartier's translated voyages to Canada in his *Principal Navigations* (1600), is an example of how translation and publication of overseas travel accounts could amount in themselves to 'discoveries' for the audience.[113] Written histories and travel accounts from other nations can

[108] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies,* p. 8.
[109] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies,* p. A3.
[110] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies,* p. A3.
[111] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies,* p. 8.
[112] René Goulaine de Laudonnière, *A Notable Historie Containing Foure Voyages made by Certayne French Captaynes* […], Trans. Richard Hakluyt (London: Thomas Dawson, 1587).
[113] Mary Fuller, 'Richard Hakluyt's Foreign Relations', *Travel Writing Form and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility,* Ed. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 43, 49.

thus be considered as making the New World accessible through their repetition, allowing emulation. The translation of the French accounts by Hakluyt were of critical importance to William Alexander; his earlier attempted expeditions to Nova Scotia had provided sparse details to offer a suitable description of the territory to his audience. It was with some apology then that Alexander was forced to draw upon the French descriptions of 'Acadie' and Port Royal, in the only explicit naming of Scotland or the Scottish people in Alexander's text: 'I intend it to be for the chiefe Colonie of the Scottish Nation,' writes Alexander of Port Royal, 'grounding that which I am to deliver upon such Discourses as the Frenchmen have written, and upon that which I have heard reported by sundry others who have seene the same.'[114] Alexander's description of 'New Scotland' therefore lacks a 'Scottish' perspective, but as with the contemporary developments in literary discourse in travel narratives, this was no obstacle to formulating a 'Scottish' colonial rhetoric. As described in Judy Hayden's 'Intersections and Cross-Fertilization' (2012), in a historical period which had 'begun to realize an emphasis on nation, when exploration was laying the foundation for empire', there was an intrinsic link between literary discourse and science.[115] In this instance, the French natural histories were an equitable source of knowledge to aid Scottish colonial ambitions, serving the function of verifying and authenticating a favourable description of the New World without the need for an overt nationalist framework. More importantly than even the use of the French accounts of Canada was the utility of English translations of those accounts to the agents of Scottish imperialism.

While Hakluyt might have published his *Principal Navigations* in furtherance of the pursuits of the 'English Nation', they functioned more accurately in the furtherance of those of the 'English speaking' nations. English was proving a key enabler to Scottish colonial rhetoric as it, and its ever-growing prominence in Scotland, was symptomatic of the attempted reinvention of Scottish identity as a product of modernity. The 'multi-lingual culture' that Rebecca Bushnell has described as distinguishing Scotland from France and England in the sixteenth century complicates any construction of Scottish identity around linguistic choices: 'Middle Scots, English, Latin and Gaelic' were all in use in the sixteenth century, 'and the identity of the "Scottish" language still in flux.'[116] According to Kidd, 'Gaelic had become

[114] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 18.
[115] Judy A. Hayden, 'Intersections and Cross-Fertilization', *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, Ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), p. 16.
[116] Rebecca W. Bushnell, 'George Buchanan, James VI and neo-classicism', *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603*, Ed. Roger A. Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 93.

detached from Scottish nationhood during the middle ages, with the kingdom's centre of political gravity moving south to the Lowlands. During the seventeenth-century, both crown and Kirk of the independent Scottish state had been committed to the extirpation of Gaelic as an Irish and popish tongue.'[117] William Alexander, as one of the earliest, 'if not the first Scottish poet', to write in English verse, along with his contemporaries Sir Robert Ayton and William Drummond of Hawthornden, might be considered at the forefront of this literary preference for English as a common-tongue to Britain.[118] Alexander's early poetic works mixed English and Scottish dialects, 'which perhaps may be vnpleasant and irksome to some readers of both nations', but which he hoped might balance his native pride in his heritage with his admiration for written elegance that English was seen to adopt in the time of Shakespeare. In later editions of these same works, the Scots dialect was wholly laid aside.[119]

The English language, as with the English claims to North America, was of self-evident utility to the imaginative reinvention of Scotland as a maritime and imperial power. Their use by the Scottish proponents of colonisation reveals, instead of a concession to the 'civilising' influence of their southern neighbours as has been suggested elsewhere,[120] a willingness to use the tools that the English provided. From this perspective, the unification of the island of Britain under a Scottish king did not invite a dissolution or subsuming of a Scottish identity to an inherently anglo-centric idea of 'Britain'. Rather, for the advocates of Scottish maritime and martial action, it was a confirmation of their relevance and authority. Scotland within 'Britain' was only bounded by the sea, and through the sea was now bordered with the world:

> That this united Isle should once advance,
> And, by the Lyon led, all Realmes o'er-come,
> For if it kep't a little, free before,
> Now having much (no doubt) it must do more.
> William Alexander, 'Parenthesis', *Recreations with the Muses* (1637).[121]

> When *England* is our owne with us to goe,
> When may wee not? Whom can wee not orethrow?
> If God bee not against our great designes,

[117] Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's Past*, p. 3.
[118] Edmund F. Slafter, 'Memoir of Sir William Alexander', p. 9.
[119] William Alexander, *The Tragedie of Darius*, (1603); Slafter 'Memoir of Sir William Alexander', p. 4.
[120] Christopher Fleet, Margaret Wilkes and Charles W. J. Withers, *Scotland: Mapping the Nation* (Edinburgh: Birlinn Ltd, 2012), p. 61.
[121] William Alexander, 'Parenthesis', p. 291.

> Where Sunne doth rise, and where his Carre declines,
> From frozen *Zembla* to the torride Zone,
> Thence to the Southerne Cape we'll make our owne;
> And all shall be great *Brittaines* Empire wide,
> Having no neighbours but the Seas beside.
> Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier* (1629).[122]

'Be we so far inferior?'

The symbolic significance of the Union of Crowns to Scottish arguments for the extension of national dominion is in one sense unsurprising. William Alexander's authority over Nova Scotia was granted to him through the prerogative powers of the Crown, as provided through his patent. Alexander says as much in his dedication to the then Prince Charles: '[…] you that are borne to rule Nations, may bee the beginner of Nations, enlarging this Monarchie without bloud, and making a Conquest without wrongdoing of others […].'[123] If the record of antiquity was bloody conquest, and the history of England and Scotland was bloody conflict, the Union of Crowns and the potential of overseas empire 'without wrongdoing of others' offered Alexander the prospect of a departure for Scotland from the trappings of history:

> Great Alexander wept, and made sad mone,
> Because there was but one World to be wonne.
> It joyes my heart, when such wise men as you,
> Conquer new Worlds which that Youth never knew.
> […] Old Scotland you made happy by your birth,
> New-Scotland you will make a happy earth.
> R. Hayman, *Quodlibets, Lately Come over from New Britaniola,*(1628).[124]

Perhaps because they knew that they wrote as the first to attempt to engage in 'Scottish' plantations in the New World, there is an emphasis in the works of Alexander and Gordon on inviting colonists to become the 'founders' of a new inheritance. Alexander declared that any

[122] Lawder, *The Scottish Souldier*, p. 11.
[123] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. A3.
[124] R. Hayman, 'The Second Booke of Qvodlibets', *Quodlibets, Lately Come over from New Britaniola, Old Newfoundland* (London: Roger Michell of Pauls Church-yard, 1628), vs. 95, p. 35.

man furnished with all things necessary 'shall have as much Bounds as may serve for a great Man':[125]

> […] where upon hee may build a Towne of his owne, giving it what forme or name hee will, and being the first Founder of a new estate, which a pleasing industry may quickly bring to perfection, may leave a faire inheritance to his posterities, which shall claime unto him as the Author of their Nobilitie there, rather than to any of his Ancestors that had preceded him, though never so nobly borne […].
> William Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies* (1624).[126]

Despite these attractions, the offers of a fertile land ready to be worked with willing hands, free of fear though not of toil, could hold little to tempt the already prosperous. The lure of a new estate was primarily directed at the second sons of the lesser nobility, who took up the new Baronetcies gladly while largely content to remain in Scotland. There were few appeals to the elevation of the labouring class on whose participation all such enterprises depended. 'It was only such as were depressed by poverty and devoid of ambition, who could be induced to seek a home in the wilderness of America, where there was no hope of attaining to a manly independence, or of transmitting such an inheritance to their posterity.'[127] Robert Gordon in his turn primarily directed his attention to those Scots who already took employment in the service of other nations, rather than seeking to secure their own or their country's future prosperity:

> Bee we so farre inferiour to other nations, or our Spirits so farre dejected froun our ancient predecessours, or our minds so upon spoyle, pyracie, or other villanie, as to serve the Portugal, Spaniard, French or Turk (as to the great hurte of Europe too many do) rather than our God, our King, our Countrie, and ourselves, excusing our idleness, and our base complayne by want of employment?
> Robert Gordon, *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway* (1625).[128]

For Gordon, the question remained as to what exactly the role of Scots and Scotland was to be, within the new framework of colonial enterprise that was being created by the contemporary actions of their European rivals. Honour in service to other nations was insufficient, and ultimately deleterious to the interests of 'our God, our King, our Countrie, and ourselves'. Although all these terms were inclusive of the terms of a contemporary 'British' identity, to Gordon, the right for Scots to engage in overseas plantations amounted to an assertion of nationhood and it was on those terms that the 'Scottish' arguments for empire are ultimately to be found:

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[125] William Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 42.
[126] William Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 42.
[127] Edmund F. Slafter, 'Preface', p. 43-44.
[128] Robert Gordon, *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway*, pp. C2-C3.

> If any scrupulous conscience will impute, that yet wee can possesse no further limites, than was allotted by composition, and that fortitude without justice, is but the firebrand of iniquitie. Let him know that Plato defineth it to bee no injustice, to take a sword out of the hand of a madde man. And Saint Augustine hath allowed, for a lawfull offensive warre that revengeth injuries, and wherein the whole Divines in Europe, although contraverting farre in other things, yet in this they all agree, that it is lawful. That the Church of Rome allowe it. The Spaniard, and Portugalles large and ample territories and kingdoms in the 15 Provinces of Mexico, Nuevo Hispana, Nueva Gallica & beare witnesse. And for the Church of England, their Bermudas, Virginia, and New England, conquesse and colonies affirm it. And the Church of Geneva in the yeere 1555 determined in a Synode (where Calvin was president) to sende Peter Rochier, and William Quadrigarius, under a French Captain to Brasilin, although they were supplanted by the Cardinall of Loraine, and the treacherie of their false Captaine. […] The same GOD that hath ordained three Kingdoms under the Scepter of our gratious King Charles, will not bee wanting to adde a fourth, […]
> Robert Gordon, *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway*, (1625).[129]

Gordon's questioning whether a Scottish institution like the Kirk has the same moral authority to condone Scottish participation in overseas plantations, in the like manner to the Churches of Rome and England, is an intentionally goading example. To think otherwise would seemingly diminish the potency of Scottish Protestantism to function on the same level as rival denominations and limit the agency of Scots and the Scottish Church in the New World. The example of the Church of England and the English, with their 'Bermudas, Virginia, and New England', as an incentive for the like action to be undertaken by Scots is particularly consistent with the insistence of 'Scottish enthusiasts for Britain at the regnal union […] on parity with England'.[130] It is the struggle for parity that seemingly drove the imagination of the Scottish promoters of colonialism. In the later writings around the Darien Scheme, the most indignant complaint made by supporters of the Company of Scotland on the Scheme's collapse was that the Scottish Parliament had the sovereign right to endorse a Scottish settlement in the middle of the Spanish Americas if it so chose. Moreover, that neither King William, when acting in the capacity of King of England, nor English ministers, had any right to interfere.[131] When Gordon tried to articulate the 'motives' through which he urges the reader to join him in New Galloway, he repeatedly asks, 'why shall it [colonial plantation] bee lawful for others, and not for mee: and not as possible and as commodious for

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[129] Robert Gordon, *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway*, pp. B5-B6.
[130] Arthur Williamson, 'Patterns of British Identity: "Britain" and its Rivals in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *The New British History: Founding a Modern State 1603-1715* Ed. Glenn Burgess (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1999), pp. 146-47.
[131] Sp Coll Spencer 56: *Scotland's Grievances, Relating to Darien* (1700), pp. 1-3.

mee, as unto others of my qualities?'[132] When reflecting on the qualities necessary for plantation, Alexander is similarly confident that his countrymen are as fit for the purpose 'as any men in the world, having daring mindes that upon any probable appearances doe despise danger, and bodies able to indure as much as the height of their mindes can undertake, naturally loving to make use of their owne ground, and not trusting to traffique.'[133] What Scots lack, according to Alexander, is not the appetite or ability to thrive in empire, but an understanding of how through empire they might preserve the sense of national parity with other European nations: 'My countrimen' writes Alexander, 'would never adventure in such an Enterprise, unlesse it were as there was a New France, a New Spaine, and a New England, that there might likewise have a New Scotland, and that for that effect they might have bounds with a correspondencie in proportion (as others had) with the Country whereof it should beare the name, which they might hold of their owne crown, and where they might bee governed by their owne Lawes.'[134]

This 'correspondencie in proportion' is expressed in Alexander's work, through his map of North America showing 'New England', 'New France', and 'Nova Scotia', the latter divided between the 'Province of Alexandria' which includes modern New Brunswick and the Gaspe, and 'The Province of Caledonia' made up of the modern peninsula of Nova Scotia. It is a familiar technique to make the New World more appealing by casting it in the mirror of the old. At least one prospective Knight Baronet of Nova Scotia proposed to name his new holding 'New Inverness', in honour of their native burgh, in a like manner to Robert Gordon's 'New Galloway'.[135] However, these efforts are more than mere vanity. The discovery of the New World 'radically transformed the contemporary geographic consciousness' in Europe', write Fleet, Wilkes, and Withers: 'The world had to be re-imagined; maps had to be re-thought'.[136] The recalibration of geographic consciousness offered an opportunity for reinvention which found expression in Alexander's map of Nova Scotia in its attempts to supersede the claims of France. Others have commented that Alexander's map of Nova Scotia and New England bears a 'close resemblance' to that published by Lescarbot in 1612, but with significant alternations.[137] The river named by the

[132] Robert Gordon, *Encouragement to New Galloway*, p. 3.
[133] William Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 38.
[134] William Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 31-32,
[135] William Inglis Morse, 'Minute of Condition between Sir William Alexander and Duncan Forbes, March 17, 1625' *Acadensia Nova (1598-1779)*, p. 74.
[136] Christopher Fleet, Margaret Wilkes and Charles W.J. Withers, *Scotland: Mapping the Nation*, p. 42.
[137] Edmund F. Slafter, 'Memoir of Sir William Alexander', p. 121.

French settlers as the *Sante Croix* is renamed the '*Tweed*', 'because it doth divide *New England* and *New Scotland* […]'.[138] The eastern firth is named the Forth, and to the west the rivers Clyde and Solway run into 'Argals Bay'. These changes did not outlive the withdrawal of the Scots in the 1630s, and there is little to suggest they even had much currency in the midst of the initial settlements.[139] Their use lay in their projection of a Scottish identity over and above the competing claims of the French settlements, in a substantive example of 'cartographic imperialism', or imaginative geography.

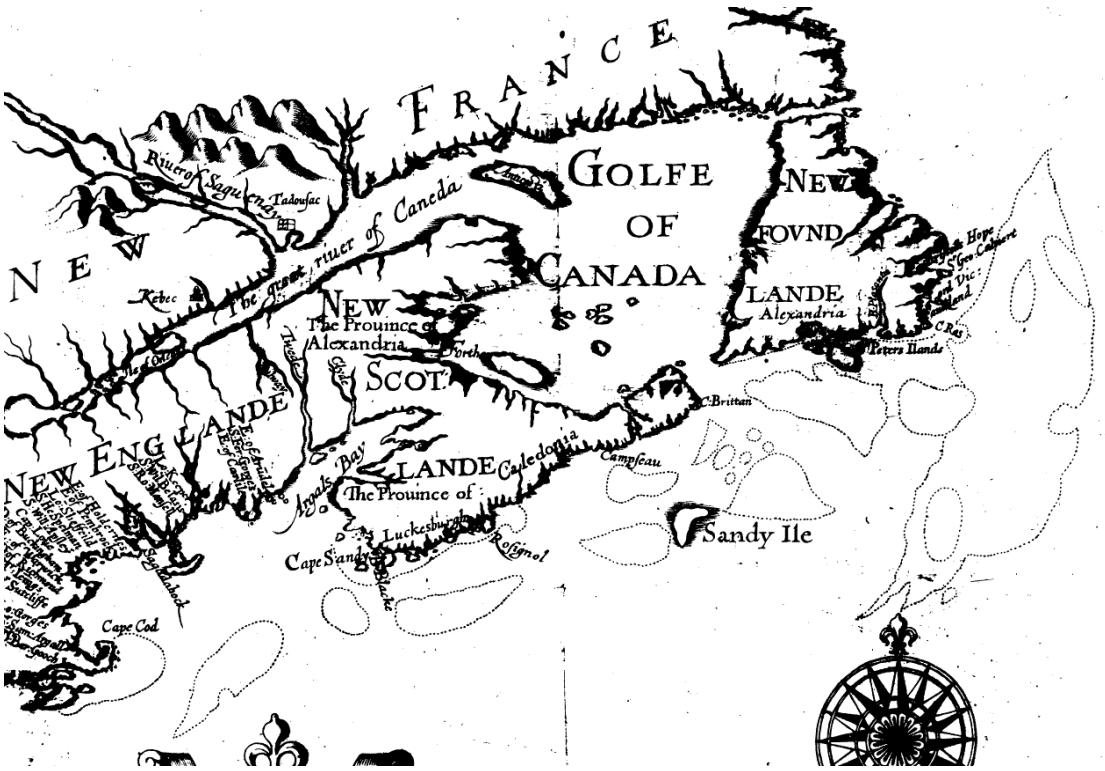

Fig. 2, William Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies* (1624).[140]

Scholars such as Paul Smethurst have recently commented on the role of imagined geographies in the discursive formation of empire, 'especially by their insinuation and cementation of crude binaries of the West/the rest' and so on.[141] In the case of Alexander's map, the Tweed may mark the boundaries between New England and Nova Scotia, as its original, in the words of Robert Ayton 'sometimes did devyde'. However, as with the Union

[138] William Alexander *An Encouragement to Colonies*, p. 17.
[139] John G. Reid, 'The Conquest of "Nova Scotia": Cartographic Imperialism and the Echoes of a Scottish Past', *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800*, Ed. Ned C. Landsman (London: Associated University Presses, 2001), p. 43.
[140] William Alexander, *Encouragement to Colonies* (1624).
[141] Paul Smethurst, 'Introduction', *Travel Writing, Form and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, Eds. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 1.

of Crowns, it 'now conjoines, two Diadems in one'[142] in their joint opposition to the looming threat of France to the North. As with their appropriation of the French accounts for their knowledge of Nova Scotia's 'Climate and Commodities', the translation of a 'French' landscape into a Scottish one was a means to assert and preserve the presence of Scots and Scotland in the landscape of the New World. In recreating the New World in the mirror of the old, however, neither New France, New England, or Nova Scotia would escape the inevitable conflicts of the originals.

Conclusions

Fittingly, for a promotional effort that was so overshadowed by martial competitors, war with France saw the greatest advances for the Nova Scotia project. The Anglo-French war of the late 1620s meant that France's fledgling colonies were suitable targets and in 1627 a French Calvinist, Captain David Kirk, alongside his brothers, was granted a commission by the Crown against the French in North America. As part of his campaign, he initially captured 18 transports, with 135 pieces of ordnance intended for the fortifications of Port Royal and Quebec. The following year in 1628, Port Royal was taken and Kirk invested Quebec. According to Laing, 'the lateness of the season caused him to defer this till 1629, when it was forced to capitulate'.[143] That same year, as part of a newly formed 'Anglo-Scotch Company', new colonists were sent to Nova Scotia to secure the settlement of Acadie and Port Royal under the direction of Sir William Alexander's eldest son, Sir William the younger. Lord Ochiltree, who had taken up the grant allotted to Sir Robert Gordon after his premature death in 1627, also landed sixty colonies on Cape Breton.[144] Unbeknownst to Sir William the Younger and the Kirks, a treaty between England and France had been signed in 1629 before Quebec had fallen, which required it to be restored to the scattered French, and ultimately Port Royal was also abandoned.[145] The involvement of the Kirks, as well as the mixtures of people concerned in these later settlements, highlights that at no point was Nova Scotia intended to be a purely *Scottish* affair, except where William Alexander asserted his privileges as patent-holder under the Crown when separate English enterprises were proposed in the late 1620s. As David Armitage has elsewhere commented, there were clearly points

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[142] Robert Ayton, as quoted in Jenny Wormald, 'The Union of 1603', *Scots and Britons: Scottish Political Thought and the Union of 1603*, Ed. Roger A. Mason (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 19.
[143] David Laing, *Royal Letters, Charters, and Tracts, relating to the Colonization of New Scotland*, pp. 97-98.
[144] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 78; Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, p. 34.
[145] Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, p. 34.

during this period of history where the relations between Scotland, Ireland, Wales and England were more 'British' than others, particularly when engaged in concert overseas.[146] The suggestion that Scottish interests in North America had been surrendered to the French as the price of a 'British' peace has little bearing on events as described. As Scots and Irish can be found throughout the efforts of the English plantations of North America, so too were the English present in the Scottish. Insh describes Alexander's *Encouragement to Colonies* as 'a tribute to the scholarly and magnanimous aspects of his personality and a convincing revelation of his inability to grasp the nature of the difficulties against which his scheme had to struggle'.[147] Nevertheless, while Alexander's work had little effect in securing a stable and enduring colony of Scots in Nova Scotia, 'it has an intrinsic interest as a literary production'.[148]

The struggle of Alexander and Gordon as the first to truly attempt to justify colonial expeditions endorsed by the Scottish crown is instructive as to how such arguments were made outside the more familiar courts of Spain, and France, and England. Both of their accounts associate national prestige and national anonymity with literary production and the lack thereof, especially with regards to colonialism and exploration. The attempt to articulate a 'Scottish' argument for empire is thus self-reflective of their thoughts on what Scotland's position is to be within Europe, and the newly composite monarchy of Scotland, England, and Ireland. The argument for settling 'Nova Scotia' thus becomes an argument for a 'New Scotland' which can continue to assert its relevance in a newly 'British' context. In particular, Alexander's adaptation of extant travel accounts, especially those translated and provided by Richard Hakluyt where there is a natural rhetorical distance between the intended reader and a Scottish audience, emphasises the role of the reader and editor on the modal formation of colonial rhetoric. The English language was not limited to the English, and contemporary print culture's privileging of specific narrative modes to authoritatively instruct the reader was not confined by the limitations of a distinctly 'English' nationalistic framework. It did not matter that the promoters of Scottish settlements overseas could not draw on an existing body of work around Scottish maritime exploits, since they were free to appropriate the travel accounts of other nations.

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[146] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 21; Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch, 'Introduction', in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, p. 13.
[147] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 60.
[148] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 61.

The effort to settle Nova Scotia left little in the way of a permanent settlement, but in the words of Donaldson, 'the episode has never been forgotten'.[149] While they struggled to reorient Scottish interest towards North America, Gordon and Alexander became the precedents for an articulation of Scottish colonialism which their own accounts lacked and they succeeded in writing a memorial that indelibly associated Scotland with Canada.[150] Alexander's engraved map of New England and Nova Scotia lived beyond his text to be included in the fourth part of *Purchas: His Pilgrimes* (1625) as another example of contemporary colonial enterprise. The future British governor of Nova Scotia, and incidentally a significant figure in the Darien colony, Samuel Vetch (1668-1732), attempted to revive the order of the Baronets of Nova Scotia in a letter to Queen Anne (1665-1714) as the new British government took possession of the Scots' former colonial territory following the Treaty of Utrecht (1713). As pointed out by John G. Reid, there was nothing particularly Scottish about the colony of Nova Scotia that emerged from this settlement, and Vetch's request was denied. However, Vetch's request to revive the Scottish order as a consequence of its 'repossession' by the British crown illustrates the process of 'historical and geographical reconstruction' of Scotland's past that Gordon and Alexander's work had enabled, and which was 'inseparable from the physical and strategic realities' of conquest.[151] Alexander and Gordon were the first. They would not be the last.

[149] Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, p. 35.
[150] Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas*, p. 35.
[151] John G. Reid, 'The Conquest of "Nova Scotia"', pp. 41-42.

Chapter Three: 'Far-Fetcht Fowls have Fair Feathers'[1]

The previous chapter on the materials around the settlement of Nova Scotia established the relevance of literary production to the articulation of empire, as well as its association with national prestige and anonymity. Arguing for Scotland's right to establish colonies was an assertion of Scotland's continued relevance and sovereignty after the Union of Crowns, as well as an attempt to reorient Scottish history in anticipation of its perceived future projection in a newly 'British' context. This chapter discusses the production of travel accounts and promotional literature in the seventeenth-century in greater depth, describing the changing relationship between reader and author in determining an account's trustworthiness and credibility. While anticipating the materials concerned in the case-studies of later chapters, this chapter argues for the inclusion of a multiplicity of materials within the scope of 'travel writing' and highlights how works of publicity and promotion were constructed to appear as authentic and reliable.

Lying by Authority and Lying to Advantage.

The authenticating role of the first-person narrative is a common feature to the travel account, the travel hoax, and the 'realistic' fictions of the early modern period. Accounts which imbued their work with authority through the credibility and 'testimony' of their source materials further obscured the boundaries of what may be considered a 'true' or fictitious travel account. The issue at fault with discussions of travel writing and credible representation in the early modern period is that too often the literary perspective fails to pursue the trajectory of travel accounts beyond their absorption into 'geographies' and neglects their further application in real world contexts. Travellers may have been said to 'lie by authority', but the promotional materials that drew on travel accounts, geographies, natural and mythic histories, etc, in furthering their intended goals, lied 'for advantage, as with the merchant'.[2] Understanding travel accounts as texts 'written according to particular reading strategies'[3] means that the advocates of overseas plantations and the authors of travel

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[1] Anon, 'Appendix E: (A) Advertisement' (1684) in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co, 1922), pp. 236-37.
[2] Francis Bacon, 'Of Truth', *Moral and Historical Works*, 1: "the poet's lie, told for pleasure, the general lie told for its own sake, and lies told for advantage as with the merchant", as referenced in Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth: Civility and Science in Seventeenth-Century England* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p. 93-94.
[3] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, Trans. Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 2-3.

narratives alike had to reflect and manipulate the perspective and ambitions of individuals and communities within their readership.[4] Fiction popularised the idea of 'a circumnavigable and universally inhabited world'[5] and impelled the maritime explorers of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century, while dreams of a better and profitable life drove the voluntary voyages of planters and colonists. This thesis aims to describe and articulate the specifically Scottish imperialist ideologies and fantasies that inspired successive attempts at colonising enterprises. To this end, the shaping pressures of proving authenticity and credibility intrinsically link the promotion of travelling and the travelogue. Successive generations of travel writing scholars have touched on the role of 'fact-orientated genres in the emergence of a realistic fiction' through the appropriation and imitation of markers of authenticity, testimony, and witnessing, in fictitious and misleading narratives. [6] The application of this scholarship to works of publicity in a manner which emphasises the role of travel writing as and in promotional propaganda is the focus of this chapter.

Travelogues published to justify the claims of the author, and to be of utility to state or commercial ventures as a guide, were frequently subject to shaping pressures in anticipation of their readership. Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* (1596) is a famous example, with his original manuscript apparently redrafted under the guidance of his and Richard Hakluyt's patron, Sir Robert Cecil, to subdue its exaggerations and so be more palatable to potential investors in an English plantation in Guiana.[7] Cecil seemingly damped the elements of the text that a reader might attribute to romance and its rhetorical flourishes, and created a more realistic or *believable* account. The point of these changes is to convince investors of the merits of a scheme of plantation, and to become *invested*, imaginatively and financially. Credibility, however, followed utility. Raleigh was eventually executed in 1618 as a result of his violation of the terms of his second expedition to Guiana, and his inability to 'substantiate his own language with material proof', among other causes.[8] As shown in the previous

[4] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 71-72.
[5] Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 10.
[6] Barbara Shapiro, '"The Concept of 'Fact": Legal Origins and Cultural Diffusion,' *Albion* 26.2, (1994), pp. 238-39.
[7] Joyce Lorimer, '"Touching the State of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be Planted by the English": Sir Robert Cecil, Richard Hakluyt and the Writing of Guiana, 1595-1612', *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, Eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), p. 109.
[8] 'Declaration of the Demeanor and Cariage of Sir Walter Raleigh', as quoted in Walter S. H. Lim, *The Arts of Empire: The Poetics of Colonialism from Ralegh* [sic] *to Milton* (London: Associated University Press, 1998), p. 58.

chapter, the Scottish promoters of Nova Scotia heavily framed their justifications for colonial plantation with the examples of antiquity and the biblical canon. However, when seeking to describe Nova Scotia to their prospective audience, the Scottish promoters found more use in the translation of the French exploration of Acadia appropriated from Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations* than the precursors of classicism.

The sheer utility of the navigations and descriptions of the New World to later travellers is inculpatory evidence of the ancients' growing irrelevance as an authoritative source in a colonising age. From Drake's circumnavigation of the globe in the 1570s, to the reports of Thomas Heriot of Virginia in the 1580s, England in the sixteenth century was already utilising scientific advancements for the mutual benefit of the state and further exploration, long before Robert Boyle and his kin turned their attention to the use of science as '*opera basilica*'.[9] The 'providential conjunction of both science and empire' concurrent to the rise of empiricism and first-person narration was enabled through the 'coincidental (if lamentable)' usefulness of ethnography to the imperialist state.[10] Both interests benefitted from the qualitative and technical improvements in 'autobiographical travel accounts' which Adams attributes to the popularisation of the form in the seventeenth-century as, in John Gascoigne's words, in order to properly possess new territories, 'one needed to catalogue their products and their people' accurately.[11] Likewise, Daniel Carey has discussed the implications of the Royal Society's organising principles for natural histories as creating an 'intellectual resource and an asset to the state'.[12] The appearance of such navigations and exploits in Scottish promotional materials, even those intended to showcase the exploits of 'the English Nation', serves to illustrate the extent to which the English language was also proving a common resource between Scottish and English imperialists. Outside the expansion of the state, commercial interests were also seen to play a formative role in the construction of reliable information through correspondence, voyage narratives and natural histories. 'Companies insisted on the inclusion of particular kinds of information sent to their agents abroad and

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[9] Stephen Gaukroger, *Francis Bacon and the Transformation of Early-Modern Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 223.
[10] John Gascoigne, 'The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the "New Worlds," 1660-1800,' *British Journal for the History of Science* 42/4 (2009), p. 540; Mary B. Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 51.
[11] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1983), pp. 169, 192; John Gascoigne, 'The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the "New Worlds," 1660-1800', p. 539.
[12] Daniel Carey, 'Inquiries, Heads, and Directions: Orienting Early Modern Travel', *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, Ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), pp. 43, 50-51.

required them to be communicated in an increasingly standardised form', writes Julia Schleck, and in comparison to the 'vagaries of individual gentleman travellers' the trading company has been seen as providing 'an increasingly viable alternative source of credible information'.[13] The presumption is that as formats not 'designed' for publication, the private correspondence between companies and their agents contained a commensurate focus on technical information, minute but pertinent details, and the natural verisimilitude of writing to a business colleague rather than an audience seeking diversion. As exhibited in the relevant materials included in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, this made the consumption of them quite dry, but nevertheless 'credible'.

However, there is danger of deception in such assumptions. When authority is associated with utility, the converse implication might also apply, and an account deemed of utility to a vested interest may thereafter be transformed into an authority.[14] The necessity of accuracy to commercial interests was certainly a moulding pressure on early modern travel accounts, but it does not address how the interests of commercial practices posed an endemic danger to accurate representations to the public. As Adams notes, the books and letters written by merchants and embassies of their travel and trading experience were frequently propagandistic, as they provided the details necessary for others to replicate their experience, and 'inspired a longing for exotic goods that quickly became necessities'.[15] Hakluyt never ventured on a voyage of exploration, but despite being a non-traveller, according to Motohashi, his methodology of presenting documents in full, including what may have been considered as privileged information and 'confidential' translations, served a similar purpose, to promote the 'replication of his narratives in real life'.[16] The contemporary pursuit of scientific knowledge and imperial expansionism therefore converged upon the use of travel literature for the recording of information. However, the lesson of the initial settlement of North America, as illustrated by the efforts to settle Nova Scotia, is that it was not enough to convince those holding the reins of power. It was necessary to construct ideologies and 'imaginative geographies' to inspire potential colonists. While accuracy might be of utility to planners and patrons of the state, creativity was of some use still.

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[13] Julia Schleck, 'Forming Knowledge: Natural Philosophy and English Travel Writing', *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, Ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), p. 58.
[14] See p. 148-49.
[15] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, p. 77.
[16] Ted Motohashi, 'The Discourse of Cannibalism in Early Modern Travel Writing', *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, Ed. Steve Clark (London: Zed Books, 1999), p. 103.

One consequence of the construction of promotional materials around travel accounts that are tailored towards a general readership rather than the court is that they appear to be more immediately reflective of the pressures of literary expectations and the contemporary structures of credibility. If reading a travel account was an exercise in recognising credibility, a similar assessment applies to promotional propaganda. Kenneth R. Andrews has described how following the sudden attack on the Virginia colony in 1622, the description of the native peoples of the region contained in promotional literature sponsored by the Virginia Company abruptly changed.[17] Where once they were 'loving and gentle', and 'apt for Christianity and harmonious collaborations with paternal Anglo-Saxon settlers', they became in print 'bestial, cruel, treacherous and cowardly'.[18] This change can be read as reflecting and perpetuating an increasingly hostile attitude towards the native peoples of North America in England, but it is also the case that the reality of the recent attack made the previous intimations untenable and would not have reflected the public's desire to retaliate. The promoters of plantations were necessarily driven to convince their readership of their authority within the contemporary rubrics of credibility, which were in flux over the seventeenth-century. Once formats denoting authenticity and reliability became more codified, there was a greater vulnerability among the reading public to the hoaxes and pastiches propagated by the writers of realistic fiction and propaganda alike. Promotional literature which was designed to convince its readership to conform to its authors' interests was necessarily motivated to codify the prejudices or pre-conceptions of its audience so as to appear 'credible', while also adapting to the codification of authenticity and appear 'disinterested'.

The 'Approbation of Testimony'

When publishing his history of England in 1626, Samuel Daniel identified three aspects of his work from which to reassure his reader of its authenticity. These markers were: 'the Stampe of Antiquity', 'the approbations of Testimony' and 'the allowance of Authority'.[19] As

[17] "I preached, by invitation of the Virginian Company, to an honourable auditory, and they recompenced me with a new commandment, in their Service, to printe that": John Donne, 'Letter to Sir Thomas Roe, 1 December 1622', in the *Complete Poetry and Selected Prose of John Donne*, p. 402, as quoted in Thomas Festa, 'The Metaphysics of Labour in John Donne's Sermon to the Virginia Company', *Studies in Philology*, Vol. 106, No. 1, (2009), p. 77-78.
[18] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 324.
[19] Samuel Daniel, 'Certain Advertisements to the Reader', *The Collection of the History of England* (London: Simon Waterson, 1626).

outlined in the previous chapter, the 'Stampe of Antiquity' was a diminishing impress of credibility, especially in discussions of the 'New World' and its discoveries. The rejection of the 'authority' of the ancients in science, in the manner taken up by Bacon and his successors, required a system of knowledge and authenticity which could remain open to the as-yet unknown, but still confident in proving or disproving the absurd. Part of this new system asserted the pre-eminence of the 'individual sense-experience' over the authority of earlier testimony, even as testimony and trust continued to play a part within legitimate empirical practice. [20] The relevance of these developments to proponents of Scottish colonialism lies in their application within promotional materials that had to balance between a literary recreation of overseas territory that appeared both credible and appealing enough to encourage voluntary displacement.

In literary terms, the 'realism' or practicality of testimony within medieval travel accounts had been impaired by the 'heritage of classical geography' which assumed and demanded the presence of monstrous men and races at the periphery of the 'known' world.[21] In Mandeville's *Travels*, or even Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana,* one of the techniques by which the 'landscape of romance' had been incorporated into their texts was by deflecting the authorship of fantastic claims to secondary narrative voices, such as the sailors' tales in Mandeville's work, or Antonio de Berrio's pursuit of El Dorado in Raleigh's. This technique allowed the authors to weave fantastic elements into their narrative, while preserving their credibility as a reporter: should the information be wrong, the worst that may be said of the author is that they are gullible, and if they should fool their audience in turn, they are fools on equal footing. [22] Perhaps because of these fantastic elements in previous travel accounts and compilations thought of as credible, the early enquiries of the *Philosophical Transactions* encouraged future explorers to test, and confirm or discount the more fantastic elements of 'the Relations published by *Purchas, Linschoten,* and others'.[23] These diverting instances from earlier geographies and natural histories included claims of a river of boiling water that was yet full of fish in Hungary, or whether the 'skin of the *Tatou*' [armadillo] was bulletproof.[24] The unusual, or unknown, was to be brought into the realm of the 'sense-

[20] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, pp. 200-202.
[21] Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration: 1298-1630* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), p. 69.
[22] Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration: 1298-1630,* p. 65
[23] Robert Boyle 'Inquiries for Suratte, and other parts of the East-Indies', *Philosophical Transactions*, 2.23 (London: T.N. for John Martyn & James Allestry, 1667), p. 415
[24] Robert Boyle, 'Inquiries for Hungary and Transylvania', *Philosophical Transactions*, 2.25 (1667), p. 467; 'Queries and Directions for the Caribbe-islands', *Philosophical Transactions,* 3.33 (1669), p. 637.

experience' and broken down into a format through which it could be understood. By this process, Robert Boyle's 'General Heads for a Natural History of a Countre' represents one of the clearest attempts to offer 'direction' and methodology for 'Inquirers' of what may be deemed pertinent to be recorded, and in what form. [25] Newly discovered lands were to be 'so much abstract space: intelligible by its quantities, rather than qualities […] and stripped of all those exotic features preventing easy assimilation within the realm of the familiar'.[26] As Michael McKeon describes it, 'natural history' represented an ideal of narrative perspicuity which opposed the 'credulous mystifications of "romance," especially when associated with the discredited authority of the ancients'.[27]

Some element of testimony, however, was essential to the creation, preservation and transference of knowledge. The issue for the proponents of the Royal Society, at least according to Shapin, appears to have turned on the '*undisciplined*' reliance upon testimony in constructing a body of knowledge of the world, implying the use of particular reading strategies: the 'maxims of prudence' and other strategies of authentication to verify the claims of testimony.[28] As significant as Robert Boyle's strategies for incorporating the testimony of earlier travellers within the 'new philosophy' were, the source of a narration or claim was as important as the point of enquiry. As commentators on the early Royal Society have noted, Boyle 'pervasively endorsed the likelihood that testimony was sound by noting the expertise, skill, or knowledgeability of the source',[29] creating a point of accessibility to authority for authors of technical skill who might fall outside the barriers of 'gentile' society that also marked the early Royal Society. 'The concept of *authenticity*', according to Justin Stagl, 'related to the idea of the *experienced world*, and also the notion of *sincerity*.'[30] Technical authors could claim validity through their expertise. The latter point of proving *sincerity* is harder to define within travel accounts. 'Justificatory gestures' of credible representation within the narratives and paratext were common to seventeenth-century works,

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[25] Robert Boyle, 'General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey, Great or Small, imparted likewise by Mr Boyle', and 'Inquiries for Suratte, and other parts of the East-Indies', *Philosophical Transactions*, 1.11, 2.23 (1665-1666). Other examples of the Royal Society seeking validation: 'Enquiries for Greenland', 2.29, and 'Enquiries and Discoveries for the Ant-Iles, or Caribbe-Islands', *Philosophical Transactions* 3.33.
John Gascoigne, 'The Royal Society, Natural History and the Peoples of the "New Worlds," 1660-1800', p. 547.
[26] Jason H. Pearl, 'Geography and Authority in the Royal Society's Instructions for Travelers', *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, Ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), p. 71.
[27] Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 68.
[28] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, pp. 211, 238; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity, The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), p. 200.
[29] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, p. 220.
[30] Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, p. 200.

as authors claimed their own or their dedicatory patrons' credentials as gentlemen, to reliably inform the reader.[31] Other strategies included the description of their work as 'histories', as shown by their plain and unadorned style of writing, rather than fanciful romances, or else the 'brotherly backstabbing' endemic to travel accounts, which prefaced their works with a dismissal or an attack on the descriptions of previous travellers to the region. The latter method would then justify the author's claim of a compulsion to print in order to correct the record and inveigh against such falsehoods.[32] The need of travellers to profess their earnest credibility and truthfulness as a preface to their works makes it seem, to borrow from Adams, 'as if they had been caught in a company of shady characters'.[33] Claims of truth through rhetoric are easily adaptable to the purposes of the unscrupulous or dissembling and, as with the 'Directions' for travellers proposed by the Royal Society in 1666, provided a format through which fictitious travel accounts could hide amongst the herd. As Loveman has skilfully articulated elsewhere, there is a reciprocity between the reader's strategies for 'identifying and interpreting dubious truth-claims' and their impact on literary production.[34] Consequently, the perception of witness credibility inflected the values of contemporary social hierarchies and integrity.

To follow the argument of Steven Shapin, women and the poor were rarely cited as voices of authority, as they were inherently compromised by their dependency. Similarly, merchants were also seen to compromise the pursuit, communication, and dispersal of knowledge by their mercantile interests. However, 'gentlemen' of independent means were considered *disinterested* and therefore trustworthy.[35] As well as being the ideal scientific practitioners, gentlemen had voices that were perceived as the ideal vehicle of a credible first-person narration, which was itself the ideal vehicle for the travel account. For promoters of overseas plantations, especially those which operated as commercial companies, these criteria of integrity posed a serious problem in distributing their materials as there was an obvious vested interest. It does, however, offer a partial explanation for why so many of the materials around the Darien scheme attempted to obscure their sources within the Company of Scotland and its 'well-wishers', and instead set themselves up as 'disinterested' separate

[31] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, p. 241; Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, p. 51.
[32] Percy G. Adams, *Travel Literature and the Evolution of the Novel*, p. 87.
[33] Percy G. Adams *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. 228.
[34] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions, 1660-1740: Deception in English Literary and Political Culture* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), p. 3.
[35] Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, pp. 86, 91, 93.

narrations.[36] The promotion of the Scottish settlement of East New Jersey in the 1680s, however, offers an example of authoritative testimony outside the rubric of integrity outlined by Shapin, by the dependence of many of its promotional materials on the corroboration and testimony of explicitly 'dependent' perspectives.

While leaving an in-depth discussion of the East Jersey materials to their own chapter, one of the most remarkable features of the works of promotion that attempted to induce the commons of Scotland to undertake the voyage to the new world was the use of collections of letters from earlier colonists. *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey* (1685), for example, contains an extended extract of letters from previous colonists reproduced in full or in part, offering a very personal perspective of life in the fledgling settlement of Perth-Amboy. One such letter is 'David Mudies Letter to his Wife, New-Perth 12th December, 1684' whereby Mudie offers a description of his attempt to travel across the province and give a sense of its size and qualities, as well as his effort to build a house. [37] Another is an abstract of 'a Letter write by Peter Watson (who went over a Servant with David Barclay, in the year 1683.) to John Watson Messenger in Selkirk, New Perth, the 20th of August, 1684':

> Now as for this Countrey, it is a very good countrey, indeed poor men such as my self, may live better here than in Scotland if they will but work, as man can have Corn and Cattle or any other Goods for his work and he can sell these goods to some hands for money, is it not for a man that hath a Families to come bound four years, but young men, who have no trouble, they will do better to come and serve four years here than to serve in Scotland, for they are not so hard wrought as in Scotland, and when the four years are out, they can gain aboundance to work to other men […] I was as little brought up with work as any was, yet blessed be God, I can work now as my Neighbours, and live very contentedly with my Wife better than ever we did in Scotland; shew my Mother in Law that my Wife and I would be very pleased, if she would come over, there are as old Women as she comes here out of old England; there was one came amongst with us elder than she, if she will come, she shall live with her Daughter and me, as easie, and as well as ever she did live in Scotland; and I do know that was well enough my Wife and I are well at present, as you could wish,

[36] Sp Coll Spencer f9: Anon. *A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to His Friend at Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1696); Sp Coll Spencer 16: Isaac Backwell, *A Description of the* […] *Bay of Darien* (Edinburgh: 1699); Sp Coll Spencer 19: Anon, *A Letter, giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien […] from a GENTLEMAN who lives there at present* (Edinburgh: 1699).
[37] 'David Mudies Letter to his Wife, New-Perth the 12 December, 1684', *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey* (Edinburgh, 1685), p. 13.

> God be blessed; I can say no more, but my love to my Brother, and his Wife, and all Friends, I rest your loving Cusin, Peter Watson.[38]

As shown above, these letters are characterised by a personal and intimate perspective in simple prose, describing life and its opportunities in the settlement. Other letters further heighten the female perspective of the colonial paradigm, addressing themselves to siblings and spouses who had yet to undertake the journey.

Individually, these letters would not have met the criterion of disinterested credibility within travel accounts. The men and women who wrote more often wrote as servants than masters and had no claim to the detachment of monied independence. This was by design; the success of fledgling colonies desperately depended on appealing to individuals outside the typical corridors of patronage or print culture which Shapin's analysis relies upon. When collected together, as with the criteria of Boyle's natural philosophy, 'witnessing' became a 'collective enterprise'.[39] The reliability of the accounts is confirmed by their internal collective coherence and functioned as a framework of testimonials around the promotional narrative core, to which the promoter could refer and defer. 'I shall offer you no other proof,' declares George Scot of Pitlochie in one of his own promotional works, '[…] than what sufficiently convinced my self that there can hardly be any cheat in the affair, to wit, the perusal of the following Letters from that place: which I have been at great pains to collect for my own satisfaction in the particular.'[40] The promoters of East New Jersey utilised these first-person retrospective accounts to authenticate their own claims and, crucially, used the reflections of previous travellers to compensate for their own implicit interest in *anticipating* a voyage. In the context of the Royal Society, 'the multiplication of witnesses was an indication that testimony referred to a real state of affairs in nature. Multiple witnessing was counted as an active, and not just a descriptive, license'.[41] Moreover, the reader of such accounts could be assured of the tangibility of these collected narrations, as physical copies were to be made available to the perusal of the public, 'published by the Proprietors, and Printed by John Reid, 1685, In Edinburgh, and who are desirous may have them there'.[42] Promotional materials,

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[38] 'Abstract of a Letter write by Peter Watson […] to John Watson Messenger in Selkirk', *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey* (Edinburgh, 1685), pp. 20-21.
[39] Steven Shapin, *Never Pure: Historical Studies of Science as if It Was Produced by People with Bodies, Situated in Time, Space, Culture and Society, and Struggling for Credibility and Authority* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), p. 94.
[40] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1685), p. 126-27.
[41] Steven Shapin, *Never Pure*, p. 95.
[42] George Scot of Pitlochie, *A Brief Advertisement Concerning East-New-Jersey* (Edinburgh, 1685).

such as those described above around the promotion of East Jersey, are quite obviously *constructed* texts, often far removed from the perspective of the individual protagonist or geographies which furnished their accounts. The collection of first-person 'testimonies' is nevertheless clearly an adaptation to the reading public's preference for confirmation through first-person experience. By making the letters available to the public detached from their promotional context, there is also an acknowledgement of the reader's responsibility and power to discern 'truth' by their own reading practices.

The pamphlets concerned with the Scottish settlement of East Jersey, as with many of the primary sources discussed in later chapters, articulate arguments for overseas plantations through appeals to imaginative potential, aspiration, and a creative appropriation of extant travel accounts to argue the reader should undertake a voyage. Pitlochie's appeal to and publication of paratextual 'testimonials' from earlier settlers demonstrates a reflection of the developments around authority and proof closely tied to our literary understanding of a travel account. While not the central 'witness', Pitlochie is nevertheless the 'central actor' and 'unifying factor for information concerning the itinerary, the action, flora, fauna, climate, and ethnography' which Jack Warwick describes as the feature of travel writing that allows the author to assert their authority over their narration.[43] Promotional colonising materials, especially those which compile other publications or accounts, will rarely contain the introspection more familiar in the narratives of the Grand Tour or journeys of sentiment of the eighteenth century. Pitlochie's other, shorter pamphlet, *A Brief Advertisement Concerning East-New-Jersey* (Edinburgh: 1685) is another example of the imperialist dynamic. While reiterating some of his earlier inducements to go to East Jersey, it also includes a 'declaration' from James Drummond, the Earl of Perth and then Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, granting Pitlochie, his family and any who accompany him, safe passage to leave the country:

> And seeing the Approbation of these in Authority is absolutely requisite, for countenancing and incouraging such a Design, without which, it cannot be expected, that any such Attempt can be made effectual; Mr George Scot of Pitlochie resolving to settle his Family in that place, have procured the following Pass,
>
> By the Right Honourable Earl of Perth, Lord High Chancellour of Scotland, &c

[43] Jack Warwick, 'Imperial Design and Travel Writing: New France 1603-1636', *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, Eds. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 54.

> These are permitting, and allowing Mr George Scot of Pitlochie with his Lady, Children, and Family; and such other Persons as he shall ingage to passé from this Kingdom, either by Sea or Land, to any of His Majesties Forraigne Plantations, providing such persons to be transported by him, be not declared Traitors, Rebels, Fugitives; and that without any Let, Impediment, or Molestation, from any person whatsoever; they always behaving themselves peaceably, and according to Law. Given at Edinburgh the first of January, 1685
> For all Magistrates, Officers, and Souldiers within the Kingdom of Scotland, whom these do or may concern.
> George Scot of Pitlochie *A Brief Advertisement Concerning East-New-Jersey, in America* (1685).[44]

Pitlochie's pamphlets thus offer arguments explaining his reasons why he will undertake the journey to East New Jersey, while at the same time, by bearing the declaration of the Earl of Perth, they serve as a physical and tangible token of printed permission to depart with safe passage. This 'Pass' from the Earl of Perth, then still Lord Chancellor, permitted the departure without molestation or impediment of any individual who accompanied George Scot to the colonies, provided they were not declared traitors or refugees, and similarly accompanied an offer of the free exercise of ministry.[45]

The Duke of York had decreed in 1684 that all the masters of vessels entering and leaving Scottish ports had to provide passenger lists to be vetted by his officials. In an era thus defined by arbitrary power and a tightening of control over the movement of potential dissenters and rebels,[46] the 'Pass' provided by the travel account is all the more remarkable. The materiality of promotional materials offers another dynamic outside the usual bounds of literary scholarship concerning the reciprocity between reader and author in an account's construction. In the case of the materials around East New Jersey, the pamphlets provided contemporary markers of authenticity to their own legitimacy, and effectively served as warrants for the safe passage of their bearers overseas.

Confidence in Compilations.

Thus far the discussion has been led by highlighting some of the potential consequences of valuing the credibility of a travel account through its applied utility to accurately inform the reader, and consequently to potentially expand the boundaries of knowledge and state

[44] George Scot of Pitlochie, *A Brief Advertisement Concerning East-New-Jersey*.
[45] George Scot of Pitlochie, *A Brief Advertisement Concerning East-New-Jersey*.
[46] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), p. 145.

authority. I will shortly discuss the role of the narrator as witness and the emergence of the preference for the 'impartial' observer as both scientific practitioner and author within natural histories, travelogues, and promotional material. I have, however, briefly touched on how the construction of a travel and promotional text was designed to meet and reflect contemporary literary expectations of content and form to denote credibility and authority. This section will take up the contrary role of the significance of editing to shape a reading and a readership from the first-personal account, to the compilation and collection found more frequently in promotional propaganda.

As has already been demonstrated in the case of Robert Cecil intervening in the manuscript version of Walter Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*, although we may in that case credit Raleigh as the primary author, it is not always possible for a reader to be certain of the complete origin of everything they read. Beyond the hand of the original author, as Percy Adams notes, a traveller's account may be a victim to a 'fireside editor or translator […] who feels that the original journal must be made more attractive to the public or must be tailored to fit the needs of what is considered to be a more sophisticated or more robust time'.[47] Similarly, the use of supplementary letters in the promotion of East New Jersey illustrates how otherwise neutral materials can become inveigled into a promotional narrative. Compilations of travel writing further complicate the role of the editor in relation to the projected credibility of the travel account or natural history in the early modern period, as there is an attendant trust by the reader of an accurate reproduction of the original by a second party. Hakluyt has been credited as establishing eyewitness accounts as 'the mode of colonial rhetoric', for seeming to preserve the integrity of the myriad perspectives contained in his collections by recounting them in their own words: 'each man his own author'. [48] However, as close criticism of Hakluyt's work reveals, there are aspects of the *Principal Navigations* which indicate how Hakluyt as compiler/editor was able to shape the reading of his work by his organisational and editorial choices. The role of the editor of travel accounts is a key aspect of promotional propaganda lying 'to advantage'.

The choices made by an editor of a compilation of travel accounts or a geographic dictionary, or the promoter of an overseas plantation, will be partially defined by what materials can be acquired, and how these fit the expectations of their intended publication. For example, Peter

[47] Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800*, p. 80.
[48] Gregoire Holtz, 'Pierre Bergeron and Travel Writing Collections', *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, Eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), p. 75; Ted Motohashi, 'The Discourse of Cannibalism in Early Modern Travel Writing', p. 103.

Heylyn, in his address 'To the Reader' in the third edition of *Microcosmos* (1627) described how his earlier editions had suffered for his trust in 'pettie chapen, pedlars of History and Geography'. By contrast, Heylyn's new edition was in his eyes the worthier for he was now supplied and advised by 'Merchants of the best sort' who helped him augment and revise his 'former travels'.[49] Although Heylyn might simply be recommending the improvements of his third edition, his comment highlights the vulnerability of 'histories' and 'geographies' to misrepresentations in their selection and absorption of materials. A similar issue is inadvertently raised in Bacon's utopian text, *The New Atlantis* (1627), where the members of the 'House of Salomon', a proto-Royal Society of Scientists, learn of the world through the work of the 'merchants of light' who purchase and recover books, abstracts, and experiments conducted in other countries.[50] The 'light' or knowledge that the merchants of light return to Bensalam, and the House of Salomon's attendant understanding of the world, is dependent upon the books that the merchants of light acquire from booksellers. If their collection of materials were indiscriminate, they would have a scattershot of information without direction. Should they rely on the 'pettie chapen' and 'pedlars of History and Geography' rather than 'Merchants of the best sort' as described by Heylyn, they risk falling victim to believing plausible falsehoods. Should the merchants of light be led by their own interests, or acquire the compilations of a Hakluyt or Purchas, who were far from neutral repositories of information, their 'illuminations' would be directed towards the intended interests of the author/collector. As interlocutors between the authors and merchants of natural histories and travel accounts, and the reading public, the editor of the compilation functions as a proto-authoritative reader who decides what to include and not to include, as determined by their own interests and scepticism. Depending on their reputation, the ability of an editor to determine an account's credibility could be a further marker of authority for a potential reader.

In the case of Hakluyt, his perceived authority was apparently such that to be included in his collections was almost seen to deem a work 'accurate' by default.[51] For editors and collectors in the mould of Hakluyt, this creates an intriguing tension between preserving the credibility of their collections, appearing at least partially 'disinterested' so as not to overly prejudice the

[49] Peter Heylyn, 'To the Reader', *Microcosmos: A Little Description of the Great World*, 3rd Edn, (Oxford: W. Turner and T Huggins, 1627).
[50] Francis Bacon, *Atlantis: A Work Unfinished.* (London: Tho Newcomb, 1659), p. 18.
[51] Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise: An Elizabethan's Obsession for an English America* (London: Yale University Press, 2007), p. 218.

reading of their materials, and simultaneously pursuing an agenda in promoting further explorations by the English. For example, the excision of Mandeville and Ingram from the later editions of the *Principal Navigations* has been described as being a necessary consequence of these accounts becoming 'suspect'.[52] Their continued inclusion in Hakluyt's collection could have endangered the credibility of the work as a whole, and consequently Hakluyt's aims to promote English expansionism abroad.[53] Similarly one can look to the paratextual framing and at times 'intrusive editorial techniques' around Drake's landing at 'Nova Albion' in the *Principal Navigations* to see how English rhetorical claims to North America were 'negotiated' in literary terms prior to any permanent settlement on the continent.[54] The technique that Hakluyt is most known for, however, is his 'arrangement of texts and documents by diverse hands':[55] 'narrative upon narrative, document upon document, to provide an overwhelming impression of English vitality.'[56] To refer back to Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*, when it was included in the third volume of Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, Raleigh's account was published alongside Keymis' *Relation of the Second Voyage to Guiana*, and Thomas Masham's 'The third Voyage set forth by Sir Walter Ralegh to Guiana' and other related works. According to Joyce Lorimer, the consequence of this positioning of materials, especially when read chronologically, was to temper their reading to create a 'progressively deflationary re-conceptualisation of the value of Guiana […] from Ralegh's soaring plans for conquest of a golden empire to more practical arrangements for trade and settlement'.[57] In this fashion, the multiplicity of materials that Hakluyt provides creates a more complete picture, leading to what one scholar has called 'a novelistic sense of the minute examination'. This allowed a greater depth of understanding for the reader beyond a superficial description of a journey: a 'panorama' of a geographic area.[58] It is clear from these examples how context and editorial judgement shape a reading. While each individual item may be judged on its own merits, the virtue of a 'panorama' of a

[52] James P. Helfers 'The Explorer or the Pilgrim? Modern Critical Opinion and the Editorial Methods of Richard Hakluyt and Samuel Purchas', *Studies in Philology* 94, (1997), p. 179.
[53] Peter C. Mancall, *Hakluyt's Promise*, p. 233.
[54] Colm MacCrossan, 'Framing "Nova Albion": Marking Possession in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*', *SEDERI Yearbook* 24 (2014), pp. 50, 65.
[55] David Harris Sacks, 'Richard Hakluyt's Navigations in Time: History, Epic and Empire', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 67:1 (2006), p. 31
[56] James P. Helfers, 'The Explorer or the Pilgrim?', p. 177.
[57] Joyce Lorimer, '"[T]ouching the state of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English": Sir Robert Cecil, Richard Hakluyt and the Writing of Guiana, 1595-1612' in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, Eds. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), pp. 106-07.
[58] James P. Helfers, 'The Explorer or the Pilgrim?, p. 165.

geographic area to inform the reader challenges the conception of a travel report's literary dimension being solely tied to 'the perspective of one particular person' as in the definition outlined by Justin Stagl.[59]

Accuracy or verisimilitude is determined by the reader through exposure to a variety of detail, with the central vision coming from the seemingly removed editor, in this instance Hakluyt. The perception of accuracy, or, of an holistic understanding of a region by the reader in this instance is clearly different to the 'translation' of a lived experience by a single author into a travelogue. According to critics such as Korte and Thompson, and as suggested in the 'Overview' chapter,[60] the process of describing or translating such an experience into a text means that all travel accounts bear some element of fiction, whatever their authenticity. 'Travelogues which emphasize the delay between the original experience and reporting', writes Korte, 'make the process of fictionalizing particularly clear.'[61] Promotional materials which are obviously amalgamations of extant accounts are more overtly 'constructed' texts but are not necessarily 'fictionalized', however. To apply this reasoning to materials under consideration in later chapters: of the many books and pamphlets published in Scotland around the time of the Darien scheme from 1698 to 1701, which sought to provide an eager Scottish public with information about the Isthmus of Panama, several drew (openly or otherwise) on the extant publications of the South Sea buccaneers.[62]

One example is John Vallange's *A Short Account from and Description of the Isthmus of Darien where the Scots Collony are Settled* (Edinburgh: 1699). This account offers a condensed compilation of the 'Late News' of the settlement's first landing alongside excerpts from the publications of 'Mr. Dampier, and Mr Wafer'. Vallange was somewhat known for reprinting or copying recent and costly publications at a reduced price, and so his reproduction of the 'best bits' as he saw it in the accounts of Dampier and Wafer is unsurprising. His active editing is a useful indicator of what was considered marketable information to the Scottish public in the midst of the Darien scheme, such as emphasis on the availability of gold among the native peoples. Vallange's text conceals the influence of other less reputable sources, yet his open profit motivation in the work's construction would make

[59] Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity*, p. 199.
[60] See p. 11.
[61] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, p. 10-11.
[62] Titles included Lionel Wafer's newly published *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), William Dampier's *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697), and Basil Ringrose's *A Buccaneer's Atlas* (1682).

it hard to say anyone taken in by his account was 'deceived'. Nor could it be said to be formatted to be read as a first-person 'travel account' in the manner of other works in circulation. It is nevertheless a proto-travel account as it summarises the contemporary events of the colonisation of the Isthmus of Darien by the settlers of the Company of Scotland. It also draws on the recently published adventures of Wafer and Dampier to offer a diverting natural history and ethnography of the region for an avid readership.[63] The charge of 'fictionalising' does not match well to works of promotion which are open in their construction and their sources.

Returning to Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations*, the nearest instance of deceit or 'fictionalising' by the editor of the work lies in the decision *not* to include reference to the climate in narratives which, when published elsewhere, reveal the locations described would be too cold to cultivate cotton. Such instances, according to Margaret Small, imply that on occasion, Hakluyt engaged in editorial 'half-truths' which overruled textual and factual accuracy that might disadvantage a favourable commercial reading.[64] Cecil and Hakluyt alike would appear to know the difference between 'telling an adventure and selling a venture' to the public.[65] Such an omission demonstrates the danger of bias inherent to perceiving authority through commercial utility, and would no doubt conform to the categorisation of lies 'by equivocation' which Mason in his *The New Art of Lying* contrasted with 'the practice of Protestants in using *plainesse and sincerity in speech*'.[66] Similar 'omissions' can be found within the framing of Scottish settlements overseas in the same century. John Ogilby's *America: being an accurate description of the New World* (1671) came to prominence in the Scottish promotion of East New Jersey through its use in the materials of George Lockhart.[67] Ogilby was a notable Scottish cartographer and translator of some renown, making the use of his description of New Jersey, as well as his name in the sub-title of Lockhart's *A Further Account of East-New-Jarsey* [sic] (1683), in keeping with other uses of 'legitimate' geographies within promotional work. However, the use of Ogilby as an authentic and reliable source to describe a site of intended Scottish settlement has further resonance with

[63] William Dampier, *A New Voyage Around the World* (London: James Knapton, 1697); Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America* (London: James Knapton, 1699).
[64] Margaret Small, 'A World Seen Through Another's Eyes: Hakluyt, Ramusio, and the Narratives of the *Navigationi et Viaggi*', in *Richard Hakluyt and Travel Writing in Early Modern Europe*, Ed. Daniel Carey and Claire Jowitt (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2012), p. 53
[65] Joyce Lorimer, 'Sir Robert Cecil, Richard Hakluyt and the Writing of Guiana, 1595-1612', p. 109.
[66] Henry Mason, *The New Art of Lying* (London: 1621), p. 19, as quoted in Steven Shapin, *A Social History of Truth*, p. 96.
[67] George Lockhart, *A Further Account of East-New-Jarsey* […] *Together, with the Description of the said Province, as it is in Ogilbies Atlas, Printed in the year 1671* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1683).

Scottish colonialism than is immediately apparent. In Francis Borland's *Memoirs of Darien* (1715), printed following the collapse of the Scottish efforts to colonise the Isthmus of Darien near Panama, Borland references not only the page number of Ogilby's *America,* referring to the Isthmus of Darien, but quotes it at length. The region of Darien, according to Ogilby, is considered closely tied with that of Spanish Panama, and has adverse qualities for human health with 'stinking damps, that arise from the muddy Pools, and the inhabitants are sickly.' Borland goes further and references Peter Martyr, 'a more Ancient *Author*' of 1514 who describes Darien as a land which 'devourest Men'.[68] Borland also references a geographic dictionary to support this point, citing Jeremy Collier's 1701 translation of Moréri's *Grand Dictionnaire Historique* (1674), as well as the record of 'old Privateers' detailing the desertion of Nombre de Dios, which had featured in the adventures of Drake over a century earlier, as evidence of the unhealthfulness of the region. Borland, as a survivor of the second settlement of Darien, had every right to claim to have been 'an Eye Witness of many of the Tragical passages of Providence' around that ill-fated venture.[69] The use of Ogilby, and the myriad other materials going back beyond the previous century, and which described the Isthmus in less than glowing terms, is part of Borland's own efforts to explain what had seemed to be the inexplicable - the destruction of the Scottish colony at Darien through privation, sickness, and ultimately an attack from the Spanish. These collected materials describe the dangers and utter unsuitability of the region for plantation through previously trusted sources which were utterly lacking among the materials put forward by the Company of Scotland and its well-wishers. In this context, the use of Ogilby as a trusted source to recommend East New Jersey in the 1680s, and the exclusion of his work to inform the planning of the Darien Scheme in the 1690s implies the construction of a narrative around Darien from its inception that did not include sources which would have impeded the efficacy of its promotion. While geographies, histories and other 'legitimate' travelogues may have adapted to the contemporary pressures of verisimilitude and signifiers of 'truth', they were not simply consumed by a reading public. Their use and deployment in promotional materials were often determined through editorial choices to inform actionable policy and public opinion, as determined by their 'utility'. The early founders of the Royal Society had good reason to be wary of admitting too many merchants among their number, for fear the Society might be led into 'a search for present profit at the expense of luciferous experimentation,' or

[68] Francis Borland, *Memoirs of Darien* (Glasgow: Hugh Brown, 1715), pp. 18-19.
[69] Francis Borland, *Memoirs of Darien*, p. 3.

'trade secrecy', both deleterious to the objectivity and openness of experimental knowledge.[70] Introducing a commercial aspect to the literature of deceit reframes a familiar discussion on the 'regularising' of early modern travel writing into something that could be trusted to inform government and private speculation in colonial ventures. The 'magnifying effect of propaganda' around commercial speculations in the early modern period, especially those associated with the recreations of a travel account or report, invite questions on the rubric of authenticity.[71] The promotion of plantation colonies can therefore be better understood by an application of scholarship on the literature of deception, 'realistic' fictions, and travel hoaxes, to the materials in question.

Print Culture, Authority and Literary Deception

> For God forbid that we should give out a dream of our imagination for a pattern of the world; but may He rather grant of His grace that we may write a revelation or true vision of the footsteps and imprint of the Creator upon created things.
> Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum* (1620).[72]

The ideas behind 'lying for advantage' and the 'magnifications of propaganda' are an undercurrent within the early modern period's designs to articulate a language of truth. Literary scholars of deception in print have happily described the appropriation of the technicalities of sailing, mathematics and geography, in constructing believable early modern novelistic travel accounts.[73] Yet when engaging with materials around company ventures, especially those funded by popular subscription to stock, the association of public credit with public and private credulity become inescapable. As Swift wrote of the South Sea Company Directors in 1720, who had been fooled by the self-perpetuating hype of the prospects of trade in those Southern climes:

> As Fishes on each other prey,
> The great Ones swallowing up the small,
> So fares it in the *Southern* Sea;

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[70] Steven Shapin, *Never Pure*, p. 79.
[71] John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (London: The Cresset Press, 1961), p. 55.
[72] Francis Bacon, 'Preface', *Novum Organum, with Other Parts of The Great Instauration*, Trans/Ed. Peter Urbach and John Gibson (Chicago: Open Court Publishing, 1995), p. 30.
[73] Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800*, p. 91-93.

> The Whale *Directors* eat up all.
> *Upon the* South-Sea PROJECT (1721).[74]

'Ultimately', writes Korte, 'a reader's sense of reality only lies in his or her *assumptions* that the text is based on travel fact, on an authentic journey, and this assumption can only be tested beyond the text itself. As far as the text and its narrative technique are concerned, there appears to be no essential distinction between the travel account proper and purely fictional forms of travel literature.'[75] As already discussed, the Royal Society's codification of a 'real' natural history is one of the more obvious examples of an 'authority' influencing the form and reading of an account. Other strategies of authentication had to be developed in the seventeenth-century, as traditional bulwarks of authority came under attack.

The Wars of the Three Kingdoms (1639-1651) and their related conflicts were typically seen to destabilise political control over the distribution of 'truth' and information. Improving literacy and communication networks allowed for information to spread beyond the urban environments which were the habitual centres of print culture. A newly literate polity, empowered and trusted by emerging empirical and societal values to judge the delineation of truth, was nevertheless seen as susceptible to the permeations of 'false news' and deception, as various political and religious factions sought to control the public narrative.[76] William Walwyn, writing in the levelling and parliamentary interest, understood the dangers to his own cause of misleading information:

> […] a subtill deceitfull Declaration may doe much more mischief then an Army, the one kills men outright, and so leave them unserviceable for both sides, but deceitful words, when for want of consideration, unsettlednesse of judgement, and weake information, they captivate men, they make them not only dead to good mens assistance, and their Countries service, but promoters likewise of their deluders interest, to the insensible ruine and slavery of their brethren, and in conclusion, to themselves. […] Hee that can give any cautions how to resist their wyles, or shew wherein we are already seduced by our cunning adversaries, doth doe very good service to his Country, and deserves to be heard […].
> William Walwyn, *Some Consideration Tending to the undeceiving those, whose judgements are misinformed by Politique Protestations* […] (1642).[77]

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[74] Jonathan Swift, '*Upon the* South-Sea PROJECT', in *The Works of Johnathan Swift,* […] *In Eight Volumes,* Vol. II, (Dublin: George Faulkner, 1744), p. 139.
[75] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, p. 10.
[76] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, p. 23.
[77] William Walwyn, *Some Consideration Tending to the undeceiving those, whose judgements are misinformed by Politique Protestations* […] (London, 1642), pp. 3-4.

Although intended to assist the contrary cause, following the Restoration, the Licensing Act of 1662 sought to limit the number of master printers to twenty, and in turn limit the outpourings of 'the great masters of the popular style' who had defined the discourse of the interregnum.[78] Attempts to codify the licensing of print under the Printing Act of 1662 was not of universal benefit to the printing trade: according to some contemporary commentators referenced in Loveman, the mark of an imprimateur made a book less likely to be sold, as the common assumption was 'the Author so licens'd was some dull Phlegmatick fellow, and either wanted wit or honesty to vouch himself'.[79] In this fashion, reading strategies of authentication and the delineation of truth can be seen to be more sophisticated than identifying a work as being 'approved' by the state. Regardless, to follow Lennard J. Davis, it became necessary to define for legal purposes the distinction of fact and fiction. The lapsing of the Licensing Act in 1695, followed by the passing of the Stamp Act of 1712 and its later revisions in 1724 ,'provided the legal mechanism for the creation of such distinctions'.[80] Outside the boundaries of print culture, one can easily read into the recoinage efforts of 1696, which sought to standardise the weight of coins in circulation in England such that they were valued by their bullion weight rather than impress, a desire to set a 'true' or 'hard' standard of value from which to judge the world.[81] According to Carswell, however, 'False pretences' was not an offence in Britain until 1757, with the victim of a 'bogus prospectus or a fraudulent agent' instead held responsible for not exercising 'common prudence' in the absence of an open forgery.[82] Whatever governing standard of authenticity was in circulation, the reader as consumer was still expected to keep their wits about them.

A 'True' hoax

As others have noted, hoaxes work because they imitate something recognizable, and bear the contextual markers of literary credibility.[83] One of Loveman's case studies for a deception in popular English print from the middle of the seventeenth-century is Thomas Chaloner's *A*

[78] Nancy Armstrong and Leonard Tennenhouse, *The Imaginary Puritan: Literature, Intellectual Labor, and the Origins of Personal Life* (Berkely: University of California Press, 1992), p. 117.
[79] Edmund Hickeringill, *Gregory, Father-Greybeard with his Vizard off* (1673), p. 2, as quoted in Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions*, p. 35.
[80] Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 92.
[81] John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble*, p. 17.
[82] John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble*, p. 14.
[83] Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World*, p. 126.

True and Exact Relation of the Strange Finding out of Moses his Tombe (1656), part eastern traveller's tale and part 'Jesuit plot-narrative'.[84] The work was published anonymously but professed 'excellent credentials', with the assurance of being communicated 'by a person of quality residing at Constantinople, to a person of Honour here in England', and bearing the Stationer's colophon of Richard Lowndes. As well as these outward expressions of credibility, there was also a meticulous exploitation of contemporary standards of authentication which reflected contemporary news-reading habits. Chaloner apparently spread gossip about the contents of the story, an alleged discovery of the tomb of Moses in the middle east and the attempt made by the French Jesuits to steal it for themselves, prior to the work's publication. As a preface to the main account, a comment from 'The Stationer to the Reader' references these 'flying rumours relating to the subject matter of this insuing discourse' and positions the text as a corrective measure. While the work was anonymous, the truth of its contents was assured by its reliance on the 'quality of the persons from whom I have received it, the particular circumstances of place and persons adde very much credit to it, so that it would be absurd to doubt of the truth of it amongst a cloud of witnesses'.[85] According to Loveman, this presentation of materials through the 'accustomed news routes' of conventional oral and written networks within coffee-house culture 'disposed readers to credit *Modes his Tombe*', while the details of the text were drawn from earlier printed travel narratives of the east, making it appear to confirm travellers' accounts, rather than copying them.[86]

However, the quality of the presumed author, the colophon and comment from the Stationer, were but one part of the layers of authenticity in the text. As one reads the account, the 'tomb' of Moses is first 'discovered' by wayward goats on Mt Nebo. This in turn leads to its discovery by shepherds who 'thinking it a business of more value than to be kept secret, they agreed that one of those who had been an eye-witness of the premises, should acquaint therewith *Mataxat*, the Patriarch of the *Maronites*' who in turn, *believes* the shepherd, and the news of the tomb moves on from there.[87] As the news becomes further removed from its inauspicious origins with a herd of goats, there is a succession of privileged perspectives in the transmission of this 'eye-witness' account which all verify the story to their own

[84] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions,* p. 47.
[85] Thomas Chaloner, 'The Stationer to the Reader', *A True and Exact Relation of the Strange Finding out of Moses his Tombe* (London: F. G for Richard Lowndes, 1656), p. A3.
[86] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions,* pp. 50, 52.
[87] Thomas Chaloner, *Moses his Tombe*, p. 5.

satisfaction before the 'news' meets the reader of Chaloner's work. As with the travel accounts that became absorbed into the geographies and histories of the early modern period, the origin of the story becomes obscured with each progressive transfer of information which overcomes a barrier of credibility, until the existence of the tomb is collectively 'confirmed' by a shared understanding of events. The 'news' of Moses' tomb spreading, as described in the text, leads to the final mischief of Chaloner, when the Jesuit forces that sought to steal the body of Moses are caught, but not before it was discovered that the tomb was empty. The final few pages of the pamphlet are devoted to the region's rival religious elders attempting to answer the question, 'where is the body?'

Arab philosophers claim the body must have evaporated, the Greeks 'argued out of *Aristotle*', while the Jews and Christian sects deferred to their religious tomes to each assert a different possibility. Their arguments, however, are not based on what they think, so much as which books each group accept to be canonical, as shown by the objections of the various sects of the eastern Orthodox churches and the Lutherans to the works of St Jude and St John:

> […] especially venting their spleene against the *Revelation* of S. *John*, saying that it was none of his, full of obscurity, void of reason, and the title forged; that the Author of it was *Cerinthus* the Heretick; and neither of them were allowed to be Canonicall, until the Council of *Carthage*, which was wholly subservient to the Papacy three or four hundred yeares after Christ; being both of them before that time not onely disputed against, but wholly gainsaid. These differences did no ways clear, but rather obscured the question, in as much as the Mufty to try all parties, desired to know the opinions of the Protestant Divines, *viz*, the Dutch, and the English. But the Dutch, whether to save charges, or that they thought it needlesse, and perhaps dangerous, maintained no Divines amongst amongst them; the English excused themselves as a point they had not at all studied, nor ever found in their books, and therefore referred themselves to the Assembly of Divines in *England*.
> Thomas Chaloner, *Moses his Tombe* (1656).[88]

Chaloner was a notorious republican, regicide, and atheist, making his mischief at the expense of religious bodies unsurprising. The essential point is that these differing religious groups are arguing over the presence of an absence. The weight of 'truth' turns on what materials and different sources are deemed as authentic, and accusations of forgery and obscurity are thrown by all sides. Even those sects which follow the same testimonials and biblical canon by their nature disagree in their interpretation, making the conclusion of the story a grand farce between groups who cannot agree on why the body of Moses is missing, when the true answer is that it was never there at all. As with their religious differences, the

[88] Thomas Chaloner, *Moses His Tombe*, pp. 33-35.

same eye-witness testimonies can result in different hermeneutics with important consequences, regardless of the authority of the witness. Yes, Chaloner has made a grand farce, but the impartiality of his narrative voice exposes in the same turn the prejudices of the individual reader who is led to their opinions by what they already believe or understand. Loveman's conclusion is to comment on the conditioning of the English public to believe sensational stories of Catholic conspiracy, even while professing scepticism and reticence in the face of 'Catholic legend and romance' within the 'suspect narratives' of travel writing.[89] As travellers lied 'by authority' through the uniqueness of their experience, so too is there a conditional criticism of all such revealed wisdoms: 'A reader duped by *Moses his Tombe* might chose to cast a more cautious eye over texts which made similar or related truth-claims, including printed letters of news, *The Publick Intelligencer* and possibly even the bible.'[90]

There is another aspect of Chaloner's text which appears at first glance to be among the most farcical, and yet which does not invite much comment from Loveman. Arguably the hero of Chaloner's *Moses his Tomb*, who worked to foil the Jesuit plot in concert with a rogue janissary, is 'Ran-Dam', the Sanziack of Jerusalem. 'Ran-Dam' is able to uncover and counter the plot, for he has 'a more subtle braine' than usually found among the Turks, being in fact 'a notable knave, and a Scottish-man borne: his right name being *Sande Murray*'.[91] Chaloner successfully hoaxed the reading public of his day because he manipulated the contemporary markers of authenticity in print publications, adapted existing materials to fully furnish the details of his account, and played upon recognisable and acceptable stereotypes, including the threat to Protestantism through Jesuitical conspiracy. Although it seems absurd, Chaloner also appears to have utilised a stereotype of the ubiquity of Scots within the administration of other realms. 'For as the Scots, as learned men ha' said,' wrote Defoe in his *The True Born Englishman* (1701), 'Throughout the world their wand'ring seed ha' spread.'[92] I have previously outlined how Lawder's *The Scottish Souldier* (1629) draws on the history of Scots as commanders within the French and Scandinavian military from the fifteenth century, and as governors of the Italian city states, to emphasise the significance of Scots within the foremost powers of medieval Europe. Part of Lawder's projection of an appealing Scottish national identity lies in the claim that no great power, from Charlemagne to Gustavus Adolphus, could not be said to owe some debt to the prowess and presence of the

[89] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions,* pp. 39, 57.
[90] Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions,* p. 59.
[91] Thomas Chaloner, *Moses His Tombe*, p. 20.
[92] Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman: A Satyr* (Edinburgh, 1701). p. 8.

Scots. It says much for the contemporary view of Scots in early modern England, that the appearance of Ran-Dam, or 'Sande Murray' as a high-ranking administrator within the Ottoman Empire was both diverting, and yet within the bounds of the readers' expectations. Scots among the heart of empire was but one more assumption to pastiche.

Conclusion: The lesson of 'Letters from a Gentleman'

Thus far, most of the research referenced has addressed the licensing of print and other standards of authentication in England in the seventeenth-century. Scotland was not removed from the developments in scientific or print culture that took place in England in the seventeenth-century. As has been commented elsewhere, the English language was a point of convergence between the two societies, and there was an appreciable overlap in the circulation of publications between Scotland and the rest of the British Isles in the early modern period.[93] However, there were some differences worth addressing:
One such is that in the absence of a Scottish equivalent to the English Stationer's Company, there was a more immediate and necessary intervention of the Scottish government and judiciary within Scotland's printing burghs of Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Glasgow. While there were mechanisms within the English government that occasionally resolved disputes over prerogative licenses and intervened in acts of censorship, according to Alastair J. Mann, 'the copyright system in Scotland depended directly on prerogative, and therefore all disputes concerning licences, rights and monopolies could properly be heard before the Council'.[94] Granting a license was its own form of government censorship, and unlicensed printing a more deliberately transgressive activity, such that the Scottish Privy Council found itself struggling to manage a rising tide of unlicensed pamphlets critical of government policy and religious grievances during the more tumultuous periods in Scottish governance.[95] These included the years of the 'Highland Host', which saw a 'revived government campaign against Covenanters and conventicling' and consequently the reactivation of the charge of dispersing 'false news'.[96] Conversely, following the Williamite revolution, Mann credits 'the

[93] Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 89.
[94] Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 129, 139-42.
[95] Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720*, p. 130.
[96] Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720*, p. 174.

very virulence' of licensed publications in Scotland against the Jacobite threat as creating a paper tiger, and perversely intoxicating Jacobites with 'unrealistic estimates of support'.[97]

With appropriate caveats to the enclaves of the Scottish Gaeltacht, or the Norn speakers of Shetland and Orkney, one means by which a sense of national polity was created and asserted in early modern Scotland was through the Scottish populace's involvement in mass literary movements, such as the successive public 'Covenants' and petitions of the seventeenth-century. The most famous example, the 'Solemn League' of 1643 from the Civil War, claimed to have been sworn by Scots from all degrees of life.[98] Although this will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters on the promotion of the Darien Scheme and 'New Caledonia', it is possible to see similar efforts at creating a national polity around colonising efforts such as the Darien Scheme at the end of the century through literary manoeuvres. The publication of lists giving the names of the subscribers to the Company of Scotland, progressively updated, is one example that can be seen to give the Company and its intended plans a sense of momentum in the public forum as the list grows.[99] In a like fashion, the publishing of a series of petitions from 'all ranks' of people to the government of Scotland from 1697-99, invited complaints of English interference in the Company's plans, and recognised the value of antagonism in provoking a sense of national solidarity.[100] In the midst of the Darien settlement's collapse in early 1700, according to Christopher Whatley and Derek Patrick, there was a proposal among the Company's supporters to print '2,000 copies of a pamphlet entitled *Propositions relating to Caledonia and the National Address*' to be distributed in Glasgow and Ayr, the better to shape public opinion on the matter.[101] When considering this thesis's focus on the role of print in the construction and expression of Scottish colonial rhetoric, this chapter makes clear the shared relationship between the reader and the author in the articulation of those arguments. Print culture can here be seen to be identified as formulating and expressing public opinion and national solidarity, which created a powder keg around the Darien scheme. Far from the sceptical or critical readership that Loveman describes in England in the late seventeenth-century, the Scottish literate public

[97] Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720*, p. 150.
[98] Edward J. Cowan, 'The Solemn League and Covenant', *Scotland and England 1286-1815*, Ed. Roger A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1987), p. 182.
[99] *A List of the Subscribers To the Company of Scotland, Trading to Africa and the Indies; Taken in Edinburgh &c until the 27 of March 1696* (Edinburgh 1696). Glasgow University Library MS Gen 1686/8.
[100] Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion* [...] (Chippenham: The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 28.
[101] Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 203.

appears to have been still vulnerable to the 'Baits' of rhetoric that incited the reader's passions.[102]

When applying the lessons of Chaloner's travel writing hoax to the plethora of materials around the Darien Scheme, several works invite particular scrutiny, such as the anonymous, *A Letter giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien (Where the Scots colonie is settled) From a gentleman who lives there at present* (Edinburgh: John Mackie & James Wardlaw, 1699). This text makes several clear attempts to claim 'excellent credentials' as an authoritative work: as well as the profession of being authored by a 'gentleman' through a named printer, the map that it contains is dedicated to John Hay of Yester, the Marquis of Tweeddale, and a significant figure in Scottish politics and the Company of Scotland. The text orients itself around the recent 'news' of the successful landing of the colonists at Darien at the close of 1698, and claims to offer a more thorough natural history of the Isthmus as written by one of the colonists, as if to supplement or complete the public narrative of the landing.[103] As previously discussed, these markers of authenticity highlight the privileged authority of the dispassionate gentleman and patron, contemporaneity, and assumed privilege of acting as a correction to the public record. However, this claim to authority and authenticity does not hold up under scrutiny. Rather than an original first-person account, *A Letter giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien* is similar to Vallange's previously referenced pamphlet, in that it is a compilation of materials that range from mimicking the language of Dampier, to quoting, according to one commentator, 'almost word for word from paragraphs of Ringrose'.[104] As will be discussed in the later chapters on the promotion of the Darien scheme in print, it also contains privileged information sent from the colony to the Company of Scotland's Edinburgh Directors that was also repeated in other works in circulation, implying either a commonly available resource, or a shared distribution or direction of materials at the Company of Scotland's behest.[105] The potential involvement of the Company of Scotland in the construction of such materials as part of their promotion of the Scheme is one indication that the descriptions of Darien published in Scotland from 1699 were not merely intended to inform a readership eager to learn more of the locality of the

[102] William Wotton's *Reflections upon Ancient and Modern Learning* (1694), as quoted in: Kate Loveman, *Reading Fictions,* p. 38.
[103] Sp Coll Spencer 19: *A Letter giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, p. 3.
[104] L. E. Elliott Joyce, 'Introduction', *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America by Lionel Wafer*, Ed. L. E. Elliott Joyce (Oxford: The Hakluyt Society, 1934), p. lxii. Basil Ringrose was a contemporary and companion to the South Sea Buccaneers Lionel Wafer and William Dampier, whose own account of his adventures appeared in later English reprintings of Exquemelin's *Buccaneers of America*.
[105] Sp Coll Spencer 19: *A Letter giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, p. 23.

Scottish settlement but were also motivated to provoke a specific response among its readership. In this context 'travelogues' or ethnographies like the *Letter*, were suitable vehicles through which the markers of authenticity could repackage details from the colony and less reputable accounts to inform the public zeitgeist in Scotland, in pursuit of a 'realistic' fabrication.[106] It may be too much to say the materials around the scheme 'hoaxed' the public, but they were almost certainly misled.

As later chapters will show, the collective understanding of the Isthmus of Darien and the Darien Scheme which was carefully cultivated in Scotland proved extremely difficult to overcome, even in the face of overwhelming evidence to the contrary. When news of the collapse of the two attempts at settlement reached Scotland, it was invariably met with disbelief among the public. As has been shown in this chapter, it should therefore be with a newly critical eye that promotional materials around colonial enterprises are considered in line with the construction of a deceptive travelogue, or a 'realistic' travel account to create imaginative geographies which reflected and influenced the perceptions of 'truth' and authority.

[106] A parallel between the travelogue and the early novel to this end is made in: Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing: The New Critical Idiom*, p. 15.

Chapter Four: East New Jersey and Carolina

The previous chapter highlighted, among other points, how texts in the seventeenth-century came to reflect the mutual evolution of reader and author in competing strategies of judging a work's authenticity, and stressed the essential tension between a promotional text advancing its interests, while appearing disinterested. Understanding travel accounts and materials promoting overseas colonial enterprises as texts constructed according to specific reading strategies emphasises the role of editors and authors in persuading or deceiving their audiences, as they strove to convince their readership of their own validity. In service to the overarching argument of this thesis on the role of print in the articulation of Scottish colonial rhetoric, the previous chapter also demonstrated how, in the construction of a 'credible' narrative, an author might affirm the prejudices of their reader, or defer responsibility for the authentication of their account to contemporary markers of authenticity. One such marker was the collective testimony of letters concerned with the promotion of East New Jersey in the 1680s. As will be demonstrated in this chapter on the promotion of East New Jersey and Carolina, the supporting arguments for colonialism were becoming more personal and immediate, even as increased literacy opened up promotional materials to a wider population. At the same time, the 'Scottish' arguments for empire were having to adapt to the changing circumstances of the later Stuart monarchy.

Under New Management: The East New Jersey Proprietorship.

The execution of Charles I in 1649 and the Cromwell Protectorate saw a deterioration in the co-operative Scottish-English partnership of the North American plantations. The initial terms of the Navigation Act passed by the English parliament (1651) limited direct access to English colonial markets through Scottish ports and vessels. While the forced incorporation of Scotland into the 'Commonwealth' of England, Ireland and Scotland in 1654 saw Scotland subsequently included in the terms of the Acts, the Scottish participation in the colonies during the Protectorate was not altogether voluntary. 'Every government after Charles I sent Scots into exile' to the plantations.[1] Thousands of prisoners of war captured by Cromwell after the battles of Preston, Dunbar, and Worcester were sent to the newly acquired Jamaica,

[1] Roger L. Emerson, 'The Scottish Literati and America, 1680-1800', *Nation and Province in the First British Empire: Scotland and the Americas, 1600-1800,* Eds. Ned C. Landsman (London: Associated University Presses, 2001), p. 184.

Barbados, and Northern Atlantic colonies. Jails were emptied into the Caribbean plantations, and indentured servants especially added to the Scottish populations of the West Indies. In addition, a decline in the English population from the 1650s, alongside 'decreasing opportunities in Ireland coupled with fewer English wishing to engage in menial work'[2] meant that the 'English' colonies subsequently became more heavily 'British', as Irish and Scots migrants became a more consistent presence.[3] The Restoration in 1660 saw the dissolution of the Commonwealth, and the re-establishment of 'independent Scottish authorities' which also 'began sending criminals and political undesirables to American shores, including militant Presbyterian Covenanters and simple criminals' with royal approval.[4]

Political refugees were in general an increasingly mobile community in Scotland in this time period, with Rotterdam or Utrecht the favoured destinations for Covenanters who sought refuge overseas in the wake of the 'searing experiences endured by many Scottish Presbyterians under the later Stuarts'.[5] Those captured or arrested by government forces often found themselves overseas regardless, as with the prisoners transported by the Carolina Company to serve as bonded labour in 1684.[6] Quoting Insh, this 'simple and effective procedure for ridding the country of recalcitrant Presbyterians' offers another indication of the profound change in attitudes among Scotland's governing class to colonial enterprise and transportation following the civil war, as a practice which 'evoked the protest of the Scots Privy Council' when suggested by James I, 'was freely employed by the Privy Councillors who governed Scotland on behalf of Charles II'.[7] Religious disaffection in Britain similarly encouraged voluntary transportation overseas. In the words of Dobson, 'the same religious intolerance that sent […] people to seek refuge among the Dutch also led to increased contact with New Jersey, New York and New England'.[8] Quakerism, introduced to Scotland by the Cromwellian Army of Occupation, had the unique privilege of uniting the warring

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[2] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', in *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Eds. Alexia Grosjean & Steve Murdoch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 118.
[3] Alison Games, 'Migration', *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, Eds. David Armitage & Michael J. Braddick (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 35.
[4] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 116-17.
[5] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co, 1922), p. 25; Christopher A. Whatley, 'The Issues Facing Scotland in 1707' in *The Union of 1707: New Dimensions*, Eds. Stewart J. Brown and Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 8.
[6] Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 123.
[7] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 115.
[8] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 122.

Presbyterian and Episcopalian factions of the Kirk in opposition to them.[9] While largely confined within their enclaves to the east of Scotland, the Scottish Quakers nevertheless held common cause with their companions throughout the British Isles. Thus William Penn and Robert Barclay of Urie, 'the leading Scottish Friend,' held discussions in 1677 on 'the participation of Scots Quakers in the settlement of the Middle Colonies when they met in Rotterdam at the house of Arent Sonnemans, a Dutch Quaker, in 1677'.[10] The Scottish political exiles who formed a distinct society within the Scottish-Dutch communities of the Netherlands maintained a keen awareness of the political happenings in their native land. Many would return in the company of the invading William and Mary to depose James VII and II as part of the Glorious Revolution.[11] The Scottish migrant communities of Europe, both before and after the Glorious Revolution, might be said to have believed their translocation to be less permanent than those who undertook a voyage across the Atlantic. Regardless, Ginny Gardner has highlighted the correlation between the increasing number who arrived in the Netherlands in 1683 and the surge in interest in East New Jersey that same year, to suggest a relation between the motivations of exile and emigration.

Throughout the 1680s there was also an increasing political discontent mounting in Scotland and elsewhere at the prospect of the Catholic Duke of York succeeding Charles II as King. Charles's eldest illegitimate son, James Scott, Duke of Monmouth, had already been obliged to depart into exile in the Netherlands by the close of 1679, and was later joined by Archibald Campbell, 9th Earl of Argyll. In 1685, they co-ordinated the ill-fated 'Monmouth Rebellion' and 'Argyll's Rising' in opposition to the coronation of James VII and II and were subsequently captured and executed. According to Gardner, while these failed uprisings left opponents to James VII & II beaten and demoralised, the number of known exiles in the Netherlands peaked in 1685 and 1686, lending momentum to the subsequent 'Glorious Revolution' of 1688. It is clearly not possible to isolate the peripheries of empire from the dynamics of metropolitan politics. Following the failure of 'Argyll's Rising' in 1685, and Archibald Campbell's execution, the deceased Earl's brother, Lord Neill Campbell, showed

[9] There is some question of the extent of the persecution of Quakerism in Scotland, as Insh claims it had largely died away by the time of the East-Jersey venture, with the records of the Privy Council between 1678-1680 passing without 'a single reference of Quakers': G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 149.
[10] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 123. The 'Middle Colonies' were those colonies made up largely from what had previously been the 'New Netherlands' – New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania.
[11] Ginny Gardner, 'A Haven for Intrigue: The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660-1690', *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Eds. Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 277.

the foresight to absent himself from Scotland by quickly buying Viscount Tarbet's share of the Proprietorship of East Jersey in August 1685. He then sent a large contingent of settlers to the province by December of that same year that included, it is suggested by William Whitehead, his son Archibald.[12] In 1686, Neill Campbell was appointed to be East Jersey's deputy Governor, and arrived in the province in that capacity in October 1686. It understates the case to say, as William Whitehead has, that the appointment of Campbell and the association of so prominent a Presbyterian figurehead, whose brother had recently rebelled against the king, with the Catholic Earl of Perth and Quaker Robert Barclay, is 'calculated to excite surprise'.[13] This bizarre conglomeration of peoples becomes the more incredible following the Glorious Revolution, when Neill Campbell's nephew, also called Archibald Campbell, accompanied William and Mary's invading force from the Netherlands, and his fellow Proprietors, the Catholic brothers Drummond, joined the Jacobite court of the exiled James VII & II in Saint-Germain-en-Laye.

Contemporary Scottish colonial rhetoric had to adapt to all these changing circumstances and incorporate a newly relevant record of non-voluntary participation in colonial enterprise into their promotion of overseas plantations. This chapter will therefore explore some of the details around the participation of Scots in the European colonies of North America following from Sir William Alexander's attempt on Nova Scotia, and through to the post-Commonwealth settlement of England and Scotland. The role of James, then Duke of York and Albany, as a positive and negative motivator for Scottish emigration will be discussed, as will the domestic political upheavals in Scotland which form the backdrop to the promotion of plantation colonies in the New World. The 'Scottish' proprietorship of East New Jersey (1682), will be a primary case study to examine how travel accounts were constructed to target specific communities for emigration, and on what terms this was achieved. In the competition for colonists, the materials around East New Jersey demonstrate the utility of travel accounts to articulate an appealing geography of imaginative potential, as well as how the promoters of plantation colonies 'proved' their claims. The promotion of East New Jersey as expressed through materials which reflect recent history and contemporary circumstance also anticipates the more significant Scottish effort to settle the Isthmus of Darien in the following decade.

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[12] William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments* (New Jersey Historical Society, 1846), pp. 116, 127.
[13] William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, p. 118.

‘Merchant’ Adventurers.

Scots adventurers have been described as ‘remarkably adept’ at circumventing the protectionist barriers erected by the English authorities over their colonial trade, particularly where ‘administrative laxity rendered them very porous’.[14] The European communities of the Atlantic coast of North America proved no less susceptible to penetration by Scottish émigrés and merchants than their English counterparts, despite an era of ‘mercantilist’ and ‘exclusivist legislation’.[15] The established orientation of the Scottish merchant classes within continental European trade, as discussed in chapter two, may have led to a greater involvement of Scots in trans-Atlantic trade, without the need for intervention or promotion by state actors. Scottish merchants on the continent were being dislodged from the domestic markets of Europe through the increased pressures of ‘economic nationalism’ in the seventeenth-century, and by the Scottish marine’s inability to address the threats to Scottish shipping in the Mediterranean.[16] ‘Commercial practices and business habits, refined over many generations in the Scottish trading colonies of Rotterdam, Bergen, Gothenburg, Cracow, Warsaw, and a host of other places’, write Devine and Rossner, ‘were transferred *en bloc* to the Americas’ as Scottish traders followed the expanding influence of other European nations overseas.[17] In frontier areas of colonial settlement, ‘where the rule of law and government protection was weak or underdeveloped’, Scottish ethnicity could be a point of security within a developing network of familial mercantile communities.[18] ‘Nya Sverige’ or ‘New Sweden’, a Dutch/Swedish colony on the ‘South’ or ‘Delaware’ river (founded in 1638 before coming under Dutch rule in 1655), has been noted as being comprised of Swedish, Finnish, or Dutch settlers, along with ‘a handful of Scots’.[19] Dobson notes, however, that the number of Scots living in Sweden as ‘merchants distributing tobacco imported from the colony was probably greater than the small number who actually settled among the Swedish colonists’.[20]

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[14] T. M. Devine and Philipp R. Rossner, ‘Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600-1800’, *Scotland and the British Empire*, Eds. John M. Mackenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 35; Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), pp. 38-40.
[15] John M. Mackenzie and T. M. Devine, ‘Introduction’, *Scotland and the British Empire*, Eds. John M. Mackenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 1.
[16] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, p. 37; T. M. Devine and Philipp R. Rossner, ‘Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600-1800’, p. 34.
[17] T. M. Devine and Philipp R. Rossner, ‘Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600-1800’, p. 37.
[18] T. M. Devine and Philipp R. Rossner, ‘Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600-1800’, p. 37.
[19] David Dobson, ‘Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas’, p. 126-27.
[20] David Dobson, ‘Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas’, p. 127.

The presence of the Scots within the North American settlements of other European nations was not without criticism from its other inhabitants. As part of a petition from the burghers of 'New Amsterdam' to Governor Stuyvesant in 1657, complaints were made of the Scots traders, that they took up the best trading places, and stole business from the resident inhabitants and tradesmen, and avoided taxation: '[…] They carry away the profits in time of peace, and in time of war abandon the country and the inhabitants thereof.'[21] Despite this mercenary reputation, it is nevertheless remarkable that a small number of the Scots of Nya Sverige who were absorbed into the New Netherlands, in turn found themselves part of the residual population who came under the rule of their native sovereign following the 1667 Treaty of Breda, and the annexation of the New Netherlands by the English Crown.[22] At the same time, Dobson has also highlighted the role of individual Scots such as Andrew Russell, merchant of Rotterdam, for their connections with Scots merchants 'throughout north-west Europe from the Baltic to the Bay of Biscay,' as well as Britain and New England and New York, and the maintenance of networks of commerce and communication that were so essential to the Scottish participation in colonial endeavours.[23] While it is readily acknowledged that there were English settlements that predated the Scottish Proprietorship of East New Jersey in 1682, it should also be understood that Scots formed part of the residual hegemony of the northern colonies, and had left an indelible impression for some time.

The Second Anglo-Dutch war (1665-1667) which led to the Treaty of Breda also saw the Scottish Privy Council taking over the duties of the feckless Scottish admiralty in issuing privateering commissions.[24] English newspapers celebrated the success of Scottish privateers in the combined war effort, as Dutch prizes swelled the numbers of the Scottish marine.[25] As part of the settlement of that war, the Dutch territory of 'New Netherlands' was granted to the governance and authority of King Charles' brother James, Duke of York. The land was subsequently divided into proprietary settlements and in 1664, George Carteret and John Berkeley were made Lord Proprietors of the new territory of 'New Jersey'. James, Duke of York, is described by Eric J. Graham as championing Scottish trading aspirations in this time period, using his influence and authority to propose a Scottish plantation and entrepot at the

[21] J. A. Doyle, *The Middle Colonies* (New York, Holt, 1907), p. 47, as quoted in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686,* p. 116-17.
[22] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 127.
[23] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 127-28.
[24] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790,* p. 22.
[25] *London Gazette*, 'Edinburgh Report, 7 July 1666' and 'Leith Report, 21 August 1666' as referenced in Eric J. Graham *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790,* pp. 23.

newly acquired English colony of 'New York' to which he held the Royal Patent. Under this scheme, 'Scottish entrepreneurs,' writes Graham, and Scottish vessels, 'were encouraged "to pass from Scotland to New York with such persons of the Scots Nation as shall desire to plant there, and to trade between the said places as they shall have occasion, or remain at New York upon the account of the fisheries".' [26] The first vessels were licensed in 1669 on the condition that 'at least four hundred Scottish subjects were conveyed on their first voyages'. The prisons and whorehouses were duly scoured, and following a further extension of trading privileges following a new 'Order in Council' permitting access to 'any other of His Majesty's plantations in America', the intended destination was changed to Virginia. However, 'the *Hope* and her human cargo never cleared Scottish waters', according to Graham, 'as she was wrecked with few survivors on Cairnbulg Sands in Fraserburgh Bay in late December 1669.'[27] James' role in the Scottish maritime continued, however, as he was appointed by Charles II to the office of Lord High Admiral of Scotland in 1673, consolidating his role as Lord High Admiral of England, and allowing for a unified maritime policy of prize law between Scotland and England during the Third Anglo-Dutch war (1672-1674).[28]

Following the death of George Carteret in 1680, his proprietorship of East Jersey was initially sold to twelve people, eleven of whom were Quakers, and which included William Penn. The legacy of Carteret, and the previous decades of settlement in East New Jersey, meant that while the first Proprietors were almost entirely Quakers, the existing settlers mainly belonged to other religious communities, with an especially strong Puritan presence. This has led to speculation that the motivation to draw in the second group of twelve proprietors primarily from Scotland and its nobility, with 'many of them so uncongenial in character and political principles to Penn and his associates' was to make the scheme more national rather than sectarian.[29] With the addition of the Scots and a wider variety of religious adherents, fears of a colonial government made up entirely of Quakers were allayed, and the Proprietors had the further assurance that their interests in Court were protected by 'persons of influence'.[30] The initial Scottish faction among the Proprietors included three Privy Councillors: James Drummond, Earl of Perth and Lord High Chancellor of Scotland; his brother John Drummond, 1st Earl of Melford and Secretary of State for Scotland, and Sir George

[26] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, pp. 39, 45.
[27] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, p. 46.
[28] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, p. 27.
[29] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 150-51.
[30] William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, p. 89.

Mackenzie, 1st Earl of Cromartie, later Viscount of Tarbet, and Lord Register. Although they formed a minority, the Scots among the Proprietors of East Jersey were the most powerful faction politically and came to dominate the government of the Province.[31] The brothers Drummond were key to the growing resentment in Scotland of the way political power was increasingly centralised in the figure of the Duke of York and other notable Catholic converts. 'The rise of the Drummond brothers in Scotland', writes Clare Jackson, 'reflected a wider power struggle throughout Britain in which Tyrconnell had gained the ascendant over Clarendon in Ireland, and Robert Spencer, earl of Sunderland, increasingly supplanted Clarendon's brother, the earl of Rochester as James' chief political advisor in England.'[32] Their participation in New Jersey may be taken as an example of the 'determined effort' of the Crown under James II to reduce peripheral autonomy and 'centralize imperial rule'.[33] Robert Barclay of Urie, Quaker, Scot, Proprietor of East Jersey, and grandson of Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun (the first of the Nova Scotia Baronets)[34] was selected as Governor of East New Jersey in 1682, although he 'governed' through deputies while remaining in Scotland.

The Royal Charters and Proprietary governments of the middle Atlantic colonies in the seventeenth-century provided opportunities for minority religious communities and experimental political philosophies to establish new ideas of government.[35] These ranged from William Penn's 1681 charter for the province of 'Pennsylvania', and the 'Fundamental Constitution' devised by the Earl of Shaftesbury and John Locke in 1669 for Carolina, to the Duke of York's more absolutist attitude to the governance of New York.[36] According to Bliss, the range of political theory expressed through plantation colonies offers useful examples of imperial consensus coming from the opposing ends of 'the acceptable spectrum of restoration politics'.[37] By comparison, the Charter and promotion of East New Jersey, of which Penn was also a proprietor, has received far less scholarly attention.

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[31] Daniel J. Weeks, *Not for Filthy Lucre's Sake* (London: Associated University Press, 2001), p. 68.
[32] Clare Jackson, 'Restoration to Revolution: 1660-1690', *The New British History: Founding a Modern State 1603-1715*, Ed. Glenn Burgess (London and New York: I. B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 1999), p. 109.
[33] Anthony McFarlane, *The British in the Americas: 1480-1815* (London and New York: Longman Group Ltd, 1994), p. 189.
[34] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 145.
[35] Robert M. Bliss, *Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth-century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), pp. ix, 10.
[36] J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 211.
[37] Robert M. Bliss, *Revolution and Empire*, p. 200-01.

When discussing 'Scottish colonialism' in the context of East Jersey, however, Dobson may be correct that it is an overreach to describe the management of East Jersey by the Scottish Proprietors, and the subsequent establishment of Perth Amboy and other predominantly Scottish settlements in East Jersey, as Scottish colonies, rather than communities.[38] There was already a diverse range of people settled in East Jersey when the Scottish Proprietors began promoting the province, and indeed the fact that the province was already 'well settled with People' formed part of the appeal of the region included in the promotional materials circulated in Scotland.[39] Elizabethtown in Essex Country was seen as 'Puritan'; Middletown, Shrewsbury and Freehold were mixed Baptist, Quaker and Presbyterian settlements which, according to Daniel J. Weeks, 'had been settled on patents Gov. Richard Nicolls had granted on behalf of the Duke of York, patents the proprietors refused to recognize'.[40] These older land patents held by the 'English' towns in the province were an obstacle to the authority of the new proprietary government, and a challenge to the new arrivals to the province which followed the publication of the promotional works of Barclay, George Lockhart, and George Scot of Pitlochie, printed in Scotland.[41] The works of promotion themselves constitute colonising material directed towards a specifically Scottish audience, which utilise the perspective and experience of previous Scottish settlers and, in their erasure of the claims of the earlier English settlements, are undoubtedly consistent with a colonial and imperialist attitude.

Ironically, these earlier settlements almost certainly provided a template to the Scottish Quakers and Proprietors for a successful promotional strategy, with the anonymous *A Further Account of New Jersey, in an Abstract of Letters Lately Writ from thence* (1676), being one example. This material from the 'English' settlement of East Jersey is characterised by letters addressed to friends, siblings, or spouses, answering entreaties for information of New Jersey with short but fulsome descriptions of their manner of living, their livestock and tillage, and their dearest wishes to be joined by their loved ones back in England. The consistent appeal of these letters is through a comparison between the lives their authors now live in New Jersey compared to their previous lives in England, containing an invitation to their family

[38] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 124.
[39] Anon, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey in America* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1685), p. 21.
[40] Daniel J. Weeks, *Not for Filthy Lucre's Sake*, p. 17.
[41] Robert Barclay, *Advertisement: To all Trades-men, Husbandmen, Servants and others who are willing to Transport themselves into the Province of East New Jersey in America* (1684); George Lockhart, *A Further Account of East-New-Jarsey* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1683); George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1685).

left behind to join them and 'live better than you do'.[42] The use of letters, as well as their thematic construction, is repeated in the later promotion of East New Jersey by its Scottish promoters.[43] The most immediate consequence of these earlier testimonials for subsequent promotion, however, lies in the significant elevation of the perspective of women and domesticity over masculinity and militarism in the colonial narrative paradigm.

A Transformative Proposition

The diminution of the martial arguments for Scottish colonial endeavours is emphasised in the anonymous *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey* [Jersey] *Published by the Scots Proprietors* (1683). This short but revealing work opens by declaring the previous advantages of plantations to the nations of Europe, with 'hardly any but had some footing' in the New World, with Scotland as the exception following the unsuccessful settling of Nova Scotia.[44] From the vantage point of *A Brief Account*, Scotland's history of colonialism is a legacy of missed opportunities for imperial gains. The attempted settlement of Nova Scotia in the 1620s and 1630s led to an inevitable conflict with the overlapping claims of the Crown of France, and consequently war, with nothing of lasting significance achieved. The orientation of Scottish historical achievements around military exploits on the European continent, which had been such an obstacle to the progenitors of the schemes for Nova Scotia in the 1620s and 1630s, is used as a counter to arguments against settling plantations on the grounds of depopulation. For generations, Scottish soldiery is described as having 'all either dyed, or been killed' overseas, 'without any benefit to our Countrey but an empty Fame: which is not in those parts little or nothing considered.' Had they and a comparable proportion of women *settled* abroad instead, why, 'what a brave and large collonie would there have been by this time […]'.[45] The reader is led to acknowledge that the effective success of a colony is not solely based on the industry of men, but on the need for 'a Proportionable number of Women', without which a colony will fail.[46]

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[42] Anon, *A Further Account of New Jersey, in an Abstract of Letters Lately Writ from thence, by several Inhabitants there Resident* (1676), 'Martha S. New Jersey, 22nd Sept, 1675'.
[43] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*; George Lockhart, *A Further Account of East-New-Jarsey*; Anon, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey*.
[44] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1683), p. 3.
[45] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, pp. 3, 4.
[46] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 4.

A Brief Account further emphasises the incompatibility of Scottish martial prowess with success in colonial enterprise in discussing the subsequent success of many of the Scots who had been forcibly transported to North America following their defeats on the battlefields of Dunbar and Worcester in the Civil War.[47] This point is also taken up in Pitlochie's later *Model of the Government* (1685), which closes with a late additional letter describing a conversation with a fellow countryman: 'sent away by Cromwel to New-England, a slave from Dumbar [Dunbar], Living now in Woodbridge, Like a Scots Laird, wishes his Countrey men and Native Soyle very well, though he never intends to see it' for he 'would not go home to Aberdeen for a Regencie' were it offered.[48] It seems incongruous to the vaunted martial tradition of Scotland, which traditionally served as a signifier of Scottish national pride, to use individuals who suffered the consequences of defeats on the battlefield as a precursor to their success in the New World. It does, however, show that the proprietors of East New Jersey were wise enough to capitalise on the history of successful Scottish migration stories in all their forms as part of their promotion of the settlement. When paired with the earlier letters' emphasis on women, and the prospects of domestic peace and co-operative relations with the native peoples,[49] the rhetorical appeal of establishing a 'Scottish colony' amidst the English territories of the New World takes a different character to that of earlier and subsequent Scottish enterprises.

The anticipated objection to Scots settling in a colony in the '*English* Dominions' rather than in an independent Scottish settlement is dismissed in *A Brief Account* (1683) as ignorant of the advantages of doing so. '*Scotland*', write the proprietors, 'having no ships of warre upon the publick accompt' had little capacity to support or defend a Scottish colony. Moreover, 'if the Plantation were disjoined from the *English* Dominions, that by the act of Navigation we would be debarred from trade with the other *English* Plantations, which would be a verie great prejudice.'[50] By contrast, note the Scots Proprietors, shipping built in the English colonies was free to trade so long as their crew were two thirds '*Denizens* of *England*' so that a ship, though it be 'not a *Scots* Ship, yet it may belong to *Scots-men* dwelling in the Collonie' and free to trade at leisure.[51] The Scottish Proprietors of East Jersey clearly had an understanding of the intended monopolisation of trade with the English colonies behind the

[47] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 5.
[48] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 224.
[49] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 12.
[50] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 5.
[51] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 6.

English Navigation Acts, as well as an appreciation of the nuances behind their own citizenship to exploit it to best advantage. Since 1608 and 'Calvin's Case', it had been a precedent in English law that Scottish children born after the Union of Crowns had the legal right to be considered as English subjects with all attendant right to inheritance and legal protections. Similarly, as subjects of the same monarchic head, the Scots in the English colonies of North America were considered naturalised subjects of the English Crown. From the Scottish point of view, the English navy and administration would protect the establishment of Scottish communities in their dominions 'as if the Plantation belonged to the Crown of *Scotland*' but without cost to the Scottish State.[52] The persistence and adaptability of Scottish interests in colonial markets is one of the enduring traits of Scottish maritime activity. As a settlement that was regarded as an integral part of England, rather than a formal colony, Newfoundland was treated as an entrepot by Scottish merchants, and notoriously exploited as a loophole through which goods could be redirected to Scotland in contravention of the Navigation Acts.[53] Regardless of the limitations of Scottish national infrastructures to support settlements overseas, and the obstacles placed by the English government to prioritise English trade, Scots who aspired to participate in colonial ventures were nevertheless able to appropriate the infrastructures of the English.[54] Whatever guise their prospective ships might sail under, however, the pragmatic approach to the Navigation Acts described in *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey* is emphatically Scottish. Of the twenty-four proprietors referenced in the Patent of 1683, the pamphlet only named the Scottish Proprietors, excluding the aforementioned Dutchman Arent Sonnemans who participated in accord with 'the SCOTS Proprietors.' According to Whitehead, 'this publication, aided by the personal influence of Governor Barclay and the other Scotch proprietors, created considerable interest for the province in the minds of many of their countrymen'.[55] A wave of migration followed the circulation of the pamphlet in 1683 and is credited with drawing the interest of a seemingly unlikely figure to the burgeoning colony: John Reid, author of *The Scots Gard'ner* (1683).

At face value, Reid does not appear as a typical candidate for emigration. Writing of the struggle to settle Maryland in the early seventeenth-century, Kenneth R. Andrews adroitly

[52] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 5.
[53] T. M. Devine and Philipp R. Rossner, 'Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600-1800', p. 36.
[54] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, p. 38.
[55] William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, p. 103.

describes the typical qualities of the early settlers of the English colonies in America that proved so frustrating to their projectors:

> In the first place the settlers were wrong: the wrong people. As pioneers most of them were useless. The good husbandmen were successful enough in England and so were the good artisans. Most of the gentlemen who opted to emigrate were, […] idle, feckless and quarrelsome gallants[…]. But much more important than all these faults was their inability to adapt, to learn how to survive, to live off the country, to cope with a hostile environment. And they found it so hard to adapt because they began with false ideas both about America itself and about the kind of life they could lead there. Such false ideas were in part the results of deliberately deceptive promotional propaganda, much of it naïve and pernicious nonsense, and in part the natural assumptions of men who have almost no means of imagining a world different from their own […].[56]

John Reid was not impelled to emigrate due to poverty or a lack of prospects. Reid departed Scotland the same year he published his book *The Scots Gard'ner* (1683), in a position of relative domestic success and leaving behind 'a good, secure job and a pleasant house'.[57] Reid had the advantages of good political connections for the time, having served in the employ of the Lord Advocate Sir George Mackenzie, 'bluidy Mackenzie' as he was known in Convenanting circles following the 1679 battle of Bothwell Bridge, and evidently had the means to publish his own work. An Atlantic voyage always bore some risk, and Reid had a young family of two daughters by 1683, with a third expected. What induced an obviously talented and ambitious individual such as Reid, outside the usual mould of working poor, dispossessed soldier, religious or political refugee, or aspiring nobleman, to be drawn across the Atlantic? Reid does not give his reasons, although Hope attributes it to the 'persuasive case for emigration' made by the proprietor's pamphlet that preceded his decision. An answer can be found in Reid's own text when seen alongside the proprietor's pamphlet, showing a different expression of Scottish colonial rhetoric than the norm.

The Scots Gard'ner.

Reid's text can readily be admitted into the catalogue of materials published in Scotland between the 1680s and 1690s that aimed for the improvement of Scottish agricultural and

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[56] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 338.
[57] Annette Hope, 'Introduction' in: John Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner: Published for the Climate of Scotland* (Edinburgh: Mainstream, 1988), p. vi.

domestic industries.[58] It has an anti-narrative style, making observations and descriptions in place of sequence or argument,[59] and as an instructional text, offers constructive advice on subjects related to landscaping, such as how to draw to scale, and the value of trigonometry to land designs. In a similar fashion to the 'cataloguing' of contemporary natural histories and travel accounts, the text is broken down into sections on 'How to Level Ground', 'How to propagate and order Fruit-trees', 'Of Fruits, Hearbs, and Roots for the Kitchen,' 'Of Some Physick Hearbs, Shrubs and Flowers' etc, before closing with a 'Gard'ners Calendar' to encourage 'Scotland's Improvement' throughout the year. While Reid's book may not meet our expectations as a literary work, it was valued for its utility rather than rhetorical arrangement. Even then, the 'eshewal of adornment' in the style of writing was a signpost of authenticity which places Reid within the same category of writer included in the compilations of Hakluyt and Purchas.[60] Reid offers another mode of colonial rhetoric applicable to the materials surrounding the promotion of East New Jersey, however, through his proposed interaction with the landscape.

Reid's text resonates with the 'unprecedented numbers of publications on improvement' and political economy that appeared in Scotland throughout the 1680s and 1690s.[61] As noted by Charles Withers, policies of 'improvement' are rarely limited to the transformation of material 'things' but rather express attitudes and ideologies with profound implications for social consciousness and regional identity.[62] Cataloguing and *cultivating* the land were mechanisms of understanding and controlling materials, which could be shaped by ideological structures expressive of the contemporary social order. Gardens and estates, such as those improved by Reid's hands, served in the 'theatre of social relations' to demonstrate the power of the controlling influence.[63] According to Paul Slack, the related literary works that advanced arguments for political economy and in Scotland were an effort to forge a distinct economic identity, and demonstrate the nation was as capable of 'improvements' as

[58] Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 163.
[59] Mary B. Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 278.
[60] Ted Motohashi, 'The Discourse of Cannibalism in Early Modern Travel Writing', in *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, Ed. Steve Clark (London: Zed Books, 1999), p. 103.
[61] Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 163.
[62] Charles W. J. Withers, 'Preface', *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region* (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), pp. xi-xii.
[63] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature, 1580-1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 4.

its nearest neighbours in the fields of commerce, navigation and agriculture.[64] Reid's text therefore offers descriptions of land intended for 'improvement and plantation', through an 'ordering' of materials which, like natural histories, attempted to convert the 'local into the universal' through a 'uniformly calibrated map of the world'.[65] On a grander scale, such policies of improvement were perceived to be a means by which a nation could maintain parity in the competitive drive with other nation states.

In literary terms, the country house and their associated 'Country House Poems' epitomised among the many works of Amelia Lanyer and Ben Jonson,[66] were intended to demonstrate the benevolence of the landed class's social order. This was achieved through the orientation of land around their titular head, and in the reciprocated bounty and fruitfulness of the land. 'The legitimacy of this superintendent rule was embedded in the space it presided over, most often a landscape centred on an ancient residence,' writes McLeod, 'a political and methodizing of nature went hand in glove with its economic re-formation by landowners.'[67] The centrality of the country seat to its grounds has been considered by scholars to contain a 'colonial paradigm', through the estates' carefully cultivated and intentionally 'civilised' community, unifying 'a specific social and topographical hierarchy'.[68] The 'seamless unity of prospect and purpose' between the 'aesthetics' of a garden and 'utility of field and orchard' are signifiers of standard country house tropes, which, by their orderliness and economy, as described by McLeod, are also seen to represent an assumed moral authority.[69]

[64] Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement: Information and Material Progress in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 189.
[65] James Delbourgo 'Science', *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, Eds. David Armitage & Michael J. Braddick (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 93.
[66] Amelia Lanyer, 'The Description of Cooke-ham,' *Salve Deus Rex Judaeorum*, (1611); Ben Jonson, *To Penshurst* (1616).
[67] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature*, p. 4.
[68] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature*, pp. 80-81, 84.
[69] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature*, p. 77.

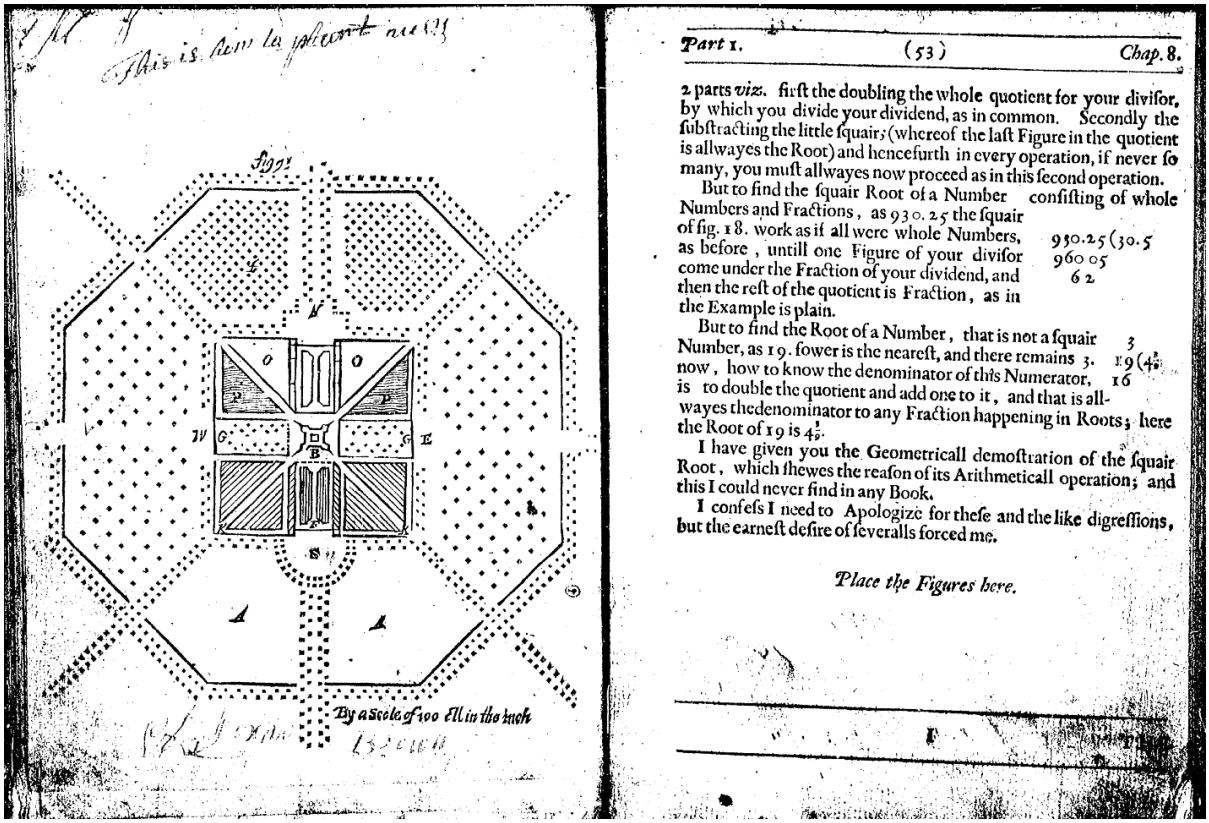

Fig. 3, John Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner* (Edinburgh: David Lindsay, 1683), p. 52.

The image of an ideal estate as seen from above imbedded in Reid's text is an example of this synthesis, with his well-ordered universe divided through a geometric shaping of the land (fig 1.):

> As the Sun is the Centre of this World: as the Heart of the man is the Centre of the man: as the nose the Centre of the face: and as it is unseemly to see a Man wanting a leg, it is necessary for a House to have a regularity or uniformity reflective of its 'central line': […] this is, every where equidistant from the House its Centre at least […]. *The Scots Gard'ner* (1683).[70]

According to Ian and Kathleen Whyte, part of the revolutionary character of the contemporary Scottish landscape was the rigid geometry that blossomed in the 'Age of Reason' and which cut across the traces of earlier cultivations.[71] In a manner which anticipates the forced agrarian 'improvements' associated with the Highland Clearances in the mid-eighteenth century, a seemingly unkempt landscape is forcibly drawn into the values of the contemporary social and market economy through innovative and reforming farming methods.[72] The centrality of the country house to its surroundings was the point of orientation

[70] John Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner* (Edinburgh: David Lindsay, 1683), pp. 2-3.
[71] Ian and Kathleen Whyte, *The Changing Scottish Landscape 1500-1800* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 54.
[72] Charles W. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region*, p. 15; Ian and Kathleen Whyte, *The Changing Scottish Landscape 1500-1800*, pp. 129-32.

around which the landscape was managed, and the fulcrum of political and societal power.[73] Reid's self-described appreciation for the aesthetics of the country house on these terms is another potential indicator of what drew him to settle in East Jersey. As well as the descriptions of New Jersey's climate, flora, fauna, and religious toleration contained in the *Brief Account of the Province* (1683) to which Hope attributes Reid's decision,[74] the pamphlet also positions the province as a central and balanced focal point within a broader colonial landscape, which has already been partially settled and developed:

> The Scituation [situation] of the Countrey is just, as it were, in the Centre of the *English* Plantations in *America*, betwixt the South parts of *Carolina*, which is over hot; and the North parts of *Pemaquitte*, next New *Scotland*, which are coldest; that its Conveniency of scituation, temperature of the Aire, and fertilitie of the soyl is such, that there is no less than seven towns considerable already, (viz) *Shrewsbury, Midletown, Berghen,* New-*wark, Elizabeth-town*, *Woobridge*, and *Piscataway*, which are well inhabited, by a sober and industrious People […].
> *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jersey* (1683).[75]

The challenge that Reid poses to the analysis of scholars like McLeod is that Reid's is not a 'patrician' landscape in the manner of the feudal hierarchy and landed gentry, whereby the landscape responds to the beneficent presence of the lord of the manor. There is not an 'organic authority' at work as defined by McLeod,[76] where lands are appropriated through inherent superior status, but rather a man-made alteration to the landscape which erases or subdues an untilled wilderness. Reid makes clear in his text that gardening in Scotland's 'cold, chilled, barren, rugged-natur'd' ground is a difficult pursuit.[77] The difficulty of tending the land in Scotland is also a specific point of comparison utilised by the promoters of East New Jersey: 'I find myself olidged [sic] to acknowledge,' writes Pitlochie, 'it [Scotland] is not among the most fertile places of the world.'[78] The difficulties Reid describes, in the need to harrow and delve the earth of his native soil, make a claim of toiling industry and progression in a manner that the poets of the country house did not.

The descriptions of East-Jersey written in letters by settlers which were included in promotional materials do not quite match the bucolic exaggerations typical of the promotion of 'colonial space' in the early modern period either.[79] Rather, as one settler describes it: 'We

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[73] Ian and Kathleen Whyte, *The Changing Scottish Landscape 1500-1800*, p. 77.
[74] Annette Hope, 'Introduction', p. vii.
[75] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 10.
[76] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature*, p. 85.
[77] John Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner*, p. 67.
[78] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 42.
[79] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature*, p. 87.

are not troubled here leading out pitts, mucking out Land, and ploughing 3 times: one Ploughing with 4 or 6 oxen at first breaking up, and with 2 horses only thereafter, suffices for all; you may judge whether that be easier Husbandries than in Scotland.'[80] If, as Campbell has written, all romance landscapes refer back to the first earthly paradise,[81] the appeal made in the letters from the Scottish colonists used to promote East New Jersey do not describe a ready-made garden of Eden. Instead, under Pitlochie's claim of the 'Grand Charter given to Adam and his posterity in Paradise',[82] the invitation is to individuals to recreate Eden and refashion themselves as the stewards of a self-sufficient paradise. There is an explicit distancing of the region from the aims of any person going to East Jersey in 'expectation of Gold and Silver Mines,' or cash-crops like sugar, indigo, cotton or tobacco. In a similar fashion to John Smith's simple declaration of Virginia: 'I promise no Mines of gold',[83] the promoters of East Jersey had learned from the lessons of earlier colonial efforts that false appeals attracted settlers ill-equipt for the difficulties of colonial life. Instead, the promoters of East New Jersey describe their purpose and enrichment from providing that 'which is most Substantial and necessary for the use of man, *to wit*, plenty of Corn and Cattle […] so that who dwell here, need not to be oblidged to any other Plantation.'[84] Proprietors wanted East Jersey to be the bread basket of the West Indies, and sought to attract individuals for whom self-sufficiency would appeal. This point is illustrated in the deference given by Lockhart and others to John Ogilby, the Scottish cartographer, and his 'New-Atlas' in which he called Jersey 'the Garden of the World, and the Terrestrial Paradise':[85]

> If there be any Terrestical Happiness (said he) to be had by any People, especially of an inferiour Rank, it must certainly be here. Here any one may furnish himself with Land, and live Rent-free; yea, with such a quantity of land, that he may weary himself with walking over his Fields of Corn, and all sorts of Grain, […] may here procure Inheritance of Lands and Possessions, stock themselves with all sorts of Cattle, enjoy the benefit of them whilst they live, and leave them their Children, when they die. […] Moreover, you shall scarce see a house, but the South-side is begirt with hyves of Bees, which increase after an incredible manner. So that, if there be any Terrestical

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[80] 'For Mr. Andrew Irvine Merchant, at his shop, in the East end of the Lucken Booth in Edinburgh, In Scotland. Amboy in the Province of East New Jersey in America, March the 5th 1685' in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 256.
[81] Mary B. Campbell, *The Witness and the Other World* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1988), p. 209.
[82] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 24.
[83] John Smith, *Works*, Ed. Arber, p. 856 quoted in Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration: 1298-1630* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998) p. 209.
[84] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 15.
[85] George Lockhart, *A Further Account of East-New-Jarsey*; 'Advertisement' *Bannatyne Miscellany*, Vol III, p. 385, as reproduced in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, Appendix E, p. 235.

> Canaan, it is surely here, where the land floweth with Milk and Hony.
> *A Further Account of East-New-Jarsey* (1683).[86]

Reid's text, alongside the promotion of East New Jersey, appeals to the workings of an individual agrarian economy, which is easily transferrable to a colonial or literary paradigm. When Reid writes that no country is 'more needful of Inclosing' than Scotland, lest you plant in vain,[87] he is describing the necessity of breaking space down into discrete units as the means to transform an otherwise hostile or barren environment into 'small islands of improvement'.[88] Campbell, although writing of the 'bourgeois capitalist' dream of Defoe's titular Crusoe, 'who builds a colonial-mercantile fortune from the almost absolute zero of the solitary castaway' makes an adroit point on the 'formlessness of mere space' which surrounds the literal and literary island.[89] 'Inclosing' or insulating open landscapes hostile to one's intent is another projection of an 'aesthetic desire' which seeks to control geographic space through modelling. The ability to conceive a view of the world from above in the plotting of a navigational chart and the planning of a garden required 'a blend of the imagined and the real' in the conceptual imagination.[90] In Jonathan Lamb's *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (2001), the boundaries between 'artificial and natural spaces' in the early modern landscape garden are expressive of a division between nature and culture in one's sense of self. 'Inclosing' a space may be read as seeking to preserve a sense of structure and/or unity from the unknown or the potentially disruptive.[91] Breaking the natural world down into categories and subdivisions was an inherent facet of early modern travel writing which sought to provide the author and reader with a mutual understanding of a written experience. This methodological approach also endows the observer/narrator with a seemingly impartial perception of truth and knowledge from that individual's perspective. Hence Motohashi's description of 'empirical serialism', as a narrative paradigm which masks a 'driving teleology' endemic to the recordings of the 'new scientific method' and the project of empire.[92] To paraphrase Campbell: ethnographies, travel writing, and literature promoting colonial endeavours to the 'New World' were works of recreation which by their descriptions

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[86] George Lockhart, *A Further Account of East-New-Jarsey*, p. 6-7. Quote is found in John Ogilby, *America: Being an Accurate Description of the New World* (London: Tho. Johnson, 1670), pp. 181-182.
[87] John Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner*, p. 83.
[88] Ian and Kathleen Whyte, *The Changing Scottish Landscape 1500-1800*, p. 129.
[89] Mary B. Campbell, *Wonder & Science*, pp. 36, 41.
[90] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 13.
[91] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840*, pp. 13, 18.
[92] Ted Motohashi 'The Discourse of Cannibalism in Early Modern Travel Writing', p. 106.

of the 'New World' asserted control over what they defined.[93] In the context of the expansion of European powers over North America, those lands left uncatalogued, unplanted or unsettled outline the contemporary limitations of the settlers' agency. The lack of recognisable cultivation, and ripe fruits left unpicked on the vine in the 'New World' formed part of the justification in the early modern period for land to be 'civilised' by European powers. 'Social order', and notions of 'civility', as expressed through settlement and mapped spaces, provided the means of refashioning the 'New World' into something 'comprehensible and ordered'.[94] The argument of a right to possession of land left unpeopled or uncultivated has typically been seen on the State level as the pursuit of mostly Protestant powers contesting the Papal mandates of Portugal and Spain to the Americas. Reid, however, and his compatriots, whose testimonies formed part of the continual promotion of East Jersey published in Scotland in the 1680s, evidence this argument on an individual scale:

> Here is no outward want, especially of provisions, and if people were industrious they might have cloaths also within themselves […] it is very whole, pleasant and fertile land:[…] The soyl of the countrey is generally a red marle earth with a surface of black mould (nor doth it appear what really it is to their eyes who cannot penetrate beyond the surface) full freighted with grass, pleasant herbs and flowers […]. It's a pity to see so much good land as I have been over in this province lying waste, and greater pity to see so much good and convenient land taken and not improven.[…] I know nothing wanting here, except that good Tradesmen, and good Husbandmen, and Labourers are scarce.
> 'A Double of a Letter from New Perth, date the 1 of the Seventh Month, 1684 from John Reid, who was Gardener to the Lord Advocate, to a Friend at Edinburgh' (1685).[95]

The right to take possession of 'vacant soyl' and claim it as private property by virtue of an individual's industry forms one of the earliest arguments of George Scot of Pitlochie's *Model* (1685), for the right of Europeans, and principally the Scots, to settle plantations in America. '[…] it is a principle of Nature,' writes Pitlochie, 'that in a vacant soyl he who taketh possession thereof, and bestoweth Culture and Husbandry there upon his right it is; the ground hereof being from the Grand Charter given to Adam and his posterity in Paradise, Gen 1:28.'[96] The pamphlet that drew Reid to settle in East Jersey makes an equivalent point, in that the Proprietors could not fritter away their lands and retain their title as Proprietors, as

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[93] Mary B. Campbell, *Wonder & Science*, pp. 10-11.
[94] Michael J. Braddick, 'Civility and Authority', in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, Eds. David Armitage & Michael J. Braddick (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 123.
[95] A Double of a Letter from New Perth […]', in George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 186-87.
[96] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 24.

it was taken as a principle 'that *Dominion* may follow *Property*', for the avoidance of 'a *beggardly Nobility*'.[97] It was similarly meaningless for individual planters and Proprietors to have vast spaces of land allotted to them if they could not be peopled and worked, as it was people that made land valuable, 'for in a Wilderness a dail [deal] of Land signifies little'.[98] Space and value were seen to intersect at the point of individual and collective industry, which defined the boundaries of cultivation and wilderness in both Scotland and East New Jersey.[99] The assertions of the proprietors of East New Jersey and their promoters, of a self-sufficient industry, came in for some criticism by later commentators. John Oldmixon, writing of the nature of the now 'British' colonies in 1708, considered East Jersey to be among the most undeveloped of all the Mid-Atlantic colonies, due to its falling into the 'Hands of the Scots,' and Quakers, 'who then were not so enterprising and commercial as they have been since'. [100]

It is also possible to over-emphasise the relation of projections of a 'Scottish' or 'British' framework of colonialism in the New World to the spatial planning of a landed estate in Scotland. Ideologies of 'improvement' do not have to be understood as an inherently 'imperialist' imposition, although as Withers points out, they tended to inform policies of religious and civil unification and authority in the seventeenth-century.[101] However, the more playful reader could easily compare Reid's advice to plant the tallest and strongest trees 'on the North-side; so shall the Northren blasts be guarded off and the Sun-beames the better received in amongst them'[102] to the intended settlement of Nova Scotia in the 1620s and 1630s being promoted as a buffer between the English colonies in Virginia and the predations of the French in Quebec. Or even the 'Inclosing' of Scottish settlements in East Jersey with surrounding English settlements, so that should any danger threaten from the North, 'the Province of *New-York*' and the fort of '*New-Albany*' should come 'betwixt it and them […]'.[103] At the very least, Reid's history once he emigrated to East Jersey demonstrates the impact of his skillset on the development of East Jersey as a colonised space. Reid's first role in service to the settlement on his arrival in August 1683 was as assistant to the deputy

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[97] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 13.
[98] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 14.
[99] John Locke, 'Second Treatise', *Two Treatise of Government*, Ed. Peter Laslett (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), pp. 292-93.
[100] John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America containing the History of the Discovery, Settlement, Progress and State of the British Colonies of the Continent and Islands of America*. Vol. I. 2nd Edn (London: J. Brotherton, 1708), p. 283.
[101] Charles W. J. Withers, *Gaelic Scotland: The Transformation of a Culture Region*, p. 403.
[102] John Reid, *The Scots Gard'ner*, p. E.
[103] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey*, p. 12.

Surveyor General where according to Hope, he laid out and mapped the settlement of Perth Amboy and the province of New Jersey, which in turn inspired his correspondence home.[104] By 1695, at the age of 39, he became Surveyor General of the province, and played a pivotal role in the production of knowledge required for a hegemonic control of colonised land. Clearly thriving in his new environment, he went on to amass his own landed estates, which he named 'Hortensia'.

A Gardener in the 'Garden State'

John Reid's influence on expressions of Scottish attitudes to 'improvements' and innovation extended beyond his East Jersey gardens. As laid out by Roger Emerson, the 1680s saw some attempts made by the Royal Society of London and the Oxford Philosophical Society to promote a network of similar institutions throughout the British Isles. To follow Emerson, the effort 'failed to create lasting institutions' but succeeded in establishing 'an informal network of cooperating naturalists,' which helped to increase Scottish interest in America through learned figures such as James Sutherland.[105] Sutherland was responsible in the 1680s for the Edinburgh Physic Garden, which was also the origin of the grounding of Scottish medical students in 'the dissection, analysis, and categorisation of plants', according to John Mackenzie.[106] Sutherland's course of instruction, and the founding of the Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh by Robert Sibbald in 1681, and the Medical Faculty in 1726, is considered to have established a 'systematic and complete medical education in Edinburgh' with an emphasis on engaging with diverse regional botanies and environmental conditions.[107] Medical men, with an interest as naturalists and scientists, along with ministers and priests, have long been acknowledged as among 'the principal conveyors of knowledge' about America from the late seventeenth-century.[108] According to Roger Emerson, Archibald Stewart, a surgeon who served with the Company of Scotland's expedition to the Isthmus of Darien at the close of the seventeenth-century, was almost certainly one of Sutherland's

[104] Annette Hope, 'Introduction', p. vii-viii.
[105] Roger L. Emerson 'The Scottish Literati and America, 1680-1800', p. 187
[106] John M. MacKenzie, 'Scots and the Environment of Empire', *Scotland and the British Empire*, Eds. John M. Mackenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 148; Ms Gen 1685, 'A Short Account of our Voyage into Darien and what happened after we came to the place', Darien Manuscripts No. 9.
[107] John M. MacKenzie, 'Scots and the Environment of Empire', p. 149;
John R. R. Christie, 'The Origins and Development of the Scottish Scientific Community, 1680-1760' *History of Science* 12:2 (1974), pp. 123, 128.
[108] Roger L. Emerson, 'The Scottish Literati and America, 1680-1800', p. 183.

former pupils.[109] The Darien scheme is nevertheless typically regarded as a failed instance of Scottish engagement with distant environments, with 'the aspirant colonists' combining 'ignorance with misunderstanding of the Central American environment which they were intended to colonize', to their detriment and disaster. This perspective is evidenced in contemporary letters by the Darien colonists who complained that their chosen site was 'not fit for planting', 'marshy' and, contrary to the reports published in Scotland, 'unwholesome for peoples [sic] health' with the little fruit native to the region growing several miles inland'.[110] These complaints do not reflect poorly on Stewart or his education by Sutherland, but rather that the Darien scheme was conducted with an inaccurate understanding of the nature of the Isthmus, and the Company of Scotland which orchestrated the scheme lacked a trustworthy and reliable network of information to inform their decisions. Sutherland's influence in shaping the nature of Scottish medical education nevertheless appears to be the origin of the reputation Scottish medics enjoyed as 'celebrated gardeners' within the British navy, military, and the East India Company in later centuries, and as key figures responsible for collecting and cataloguing the plants found in the expanding boundaries of the British Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[111]

In one of his letters from East New Jersey dated from 1684, John Reid implies an existing professional and personal relationship with Sutherland. Referencing the abundance of 'Garding hearbs' [sic] in East Jersey, Reid writes with regret that that he hasn't had time to 'inquire unto them all'. Nevertheless, he asks to reassure 'James Sutherland Physick Gardiner at Edinbrugh' [sic], that when an opportunity arises he will not forget to send him samples of the 'Garden herbs' and seeds from the New World.[112] This correspondence is an example of the informal network that was being developed through co-ordinated scientific and colonial enterprise. Co-operation in the pursuit and distribution of knowledge and innovation is indicative of an appetite for modernity. The association of the practitioners of medicine, science, and social and agrarian 'improvement,' with other 'intellectual explorers' such as cartographers, travellers and political writers is partly what created the 'intellectual climate'

[109] Roger L. Emerson, 'The Scottish Literati and America, 1680-1800', p. 188;
[110] Ms Gen 1685, 'A Short Account of our Voyage into Darien and what happened after we came to the place.' Darien Manuscripts No. 9.
[111] John M. MacKenzie, 'Scots and the Environment of Empire', p. 150.
[112] John Reid, 'A Double of a Letter from New Perth, date the 1 of the seventh month, 1684, from John Reid, who was Gardener to the Lord Advocate, to a Friend at Edinburgh' in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 240; George Scot of Pitlochie, 'A double of a Letter from New-Perth', *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 189.

which gave literature of improvement its contemporary sense of momentum.[113] However, while Sibbald and Sutherland fit neatly into the 'embryonic group of scientific educators' described by John R. R. Christie as maturing into the 'elite purveyors of natural knowledge' of eighteenth-century society,[114] non-scholars such as Reid are an under-appreciated aspect to an emergent Scottish scientific community in the seventeenth-century. As with Charles Webster's criticism of the common perception of the Royal Society as the instigators of the pursuit of scientific truth and the spirit of inquiry without regard to their immediate precursors, it is unwise to divide 'social planning and technology on the one hand, and science and philosophy on the other'.[115] *The Scots Gard'ner* already illustrates Reid's interest in social planning and 'improvement'. Reid credibly informed a developing network of scientific inquiry into botany and pharmacology through his demonstrable expertise and positioning on a colonial frontier. If, as Shapin suggests, the 'civil legitimacy of the new experimental philosophy' was to be secured by demonstrating that its practitioners were '*not* traditional scholars'[116] by making the pursuit of knowledge conducive to the cultural role of the gentleman, there was no less a restructuring of social and civil order by Reid's ability to inform such gentlemen and scholars. Perhaps because of these connections, Reid's letter mentioning Sutherland was included in the compilation of letters from East New Jersey colonists reproduced to encourage prospective colonists in Pitlochie's *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey in America* (1685), indicating the extension of this authority to other matters.

As noted in chapter one,[117] distance magnified the insecurities inherent to trade, and some rubric of credibility or confidence in the related experience of events as described by another had to be developed lest their accounts should be dismissed, for 'far fetcht Fowls have fair Feathers'.[118] John Reid demonstrates one burgeoning network between literate individuals on the colonial periphery and the metropole, whereby authority is assumed through his personal reputation. The familiarity of the Irish traffic to Scottish migration was drawn upon to help conceptualise the Atlantic voyage in more agreeable terms. Pitlochie's *Model*, for example,

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[113] Paul Slack, *The Invention of Improvement*, p. 43.
[114] John R. R. Christie, 'The Origins and Development of the Scottish Scientific Community,' p. 137.
[115] Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660*, (London: Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 1975), p. 493.
[116] Steven Shapin, '"A Scholar and a Gentleman": The Problematic Identity of the Scientific Practitioner in Early Modern England', *History of Science*, 29:3 (1991), p. 296.
[117] See pp. 10-12.
[118] Nuala Zahedieh, 'Economy' in *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, Eds. David Armitage & Michael J. Braddick (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 68-69; Anon, 'Appendix E: (A) Advertisement' (1684), in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 236.

describes the passage to New Jersey as comparable to the ease of sailing from the West Coast of Scotland to Ireland, and bears the recommendation of a gentleman of Maryland, that Ulster 'where most of our Nation are seated, could spare Fourty thousand Men and Women' to an American Plantation.[119] The acknowledged practices of the Scottish merchant communities in Europe offer another such network of trust through kin-relations. The most robust networks of communication, as defined by Nuala Zahedieh, were religious networks, such as the Quakers or the Jews, as they were open to people outside familial links, while also 'disseminating up-to-date and accurate information about business conditions and individual reputations'.[120] The use of letters in promotion is also fitting within the literary traditions of the Quakers, who were known to circulate letters and tracts among their members. Written testimonials formed part of their mission as 'a strongly evangelic Church,' as Houston writes, 'to educate everyone irrespective of the depth of their conviction'.[121]

Continual promotion of the province was necessary, in order that the public interest should be 'more generally diffused and the embarkation of greater numbers secured' following the initial publicity efforts in 1683.[122] Letters from already established colonists, as with the appeal of East New Jersey on the grounds of its pre-established communities, are an indication of the security of the proposed endeavour, and a deferral of the validation of the claims made in the promotional work to a 'trusted' interlocutor. Given the literary reputation of the Quakers, the inclusion of letters in the anonymous *Advertisement* (1685) and Pitlochie's *Model* (1685), is also a signalling towards specific communities of the advantages of emigration through an acknowledged medium. What descriptions there are of the region in the letters are generally concise rather than comprehensive, and describe the settlers' experience they wish to be emulated by their kinfolk.[123] For example, the much-cited Peter Watson reiterates the theme of the myriad pamphlets and broadsheets around East New Jersey, that the only thing wanting is 'good People' to work the land.[124] The complicating aspect to these collections of letters is that they defy the distinction between subject and object orientation. Barbara Korte describes travel writing as defined by 'the interaction of the

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[119] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 51.
[120] Nuala Zahedieh, 'Economy', pp. 68-69.
[121] R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 152.
[122] William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, p. 234.
[123] 'Amboy, or new Perth in America, 9 of November, 1684', *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey in America* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1685), p. 15.
[124] 'Abstract of a Letter write by Peter Watson (who went over a Servant with David Barclay, in the year 1683.) to John Watson Messenger in Selkirk New Perth, the 20th of August, 1684', *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey in America*, pp. 20-21.

human subject with the world'.[125] In an object orientated account, where 'geographical and anthropological knowledge is foregrounded' as in John Reid's description of the quality of the 'red marle' soil of East Jersey, this subjectivity is often hardly discernible except as an expression of Reid's impartial expertise. Yet as letters addressed mostly to familial or working connections, the compilations are heavily weighted towards a targeted readership. Their descriptions of planting orchards, or stocking their acreages, offer a view of a more domestic and intimate experience of colonial life. Individually, the letters may not be immediately recognisable as 'travel accounts', but as shown by their use in the *Advertisement* and Pitlochie's *Model of the Government of East New Jersey*, they form the framework of authentic testimonials around the narrative core of an overtly promotional text which describes, justifies, and anticipates a journey.[126] From the position of the narratological authority of the author of the pamphlet, while the promoter of colonial settlement cannot be considered to write from an impartial perspective, this strategy of furnishing their argument with 'witnesses' of presumed credibility with their audience compensates for their own implicit interest, an aspect of travel writing of particular significance in the early modern period.[127]

Testimony and Cross-Examination.

By 1685, there is evidence that the Scottish Proprietors were faced with a new problem to their design, in descriptions or accounts of East New Jersey circulating in Scotland outside their control and not entirely to their credit, as described in *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey in America* (1685). This text shares some stylistic, linguistic, and thematic similarities with the broadsheet 'Advertisement: To all […] willing to Transport themselves into the Province of East New Jersey' (1684), included in Insh's *Scottish Colonial Schemes* (1922), and which Insh attributes to Robert Barclay.[128] Both works maintain a confident projection of the work of the Proprietors, with the work of 1684 closing and the work of 1685 opening with an assertion that the previous accounts of East New Jersey had been 'authentically verified' for the past two years, 'by the testimony of persons of

[125] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, Trans. Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 5.
[126] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, pp. 6, 9.
[127] Julia Schleck, 'Forming Knowledge: Natural Philosophy and English Travel Writing', *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, Ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), pp. 55-56.
[128] G. P. Insh, 'Appendix E', *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, pp. 233-237.

unquestioned Credit, who have written from thence'.[129] Yet the *Advertisement* of 1685 mentions a 'late noise' being built by those who 'Industriously seek to spread reports to the disadvantage of this Province [East Jersey]', indicating a rival report of the region contrary to the perspectives of the Proprietors' designs.[130] George Scot of Pitlochie's *The Model of the Government of East New Jersey* (1685) similarly mentions the circulation of 'false rumours, industriously spread abroad to stifle' any inclination among the Scots to transport themselves to the province.[131] The Scottish Proprietors were disquieted enough by these 'rumours' to counter them in print, which demonstrates their perceived potency, as well as the relative weight attached to other informal networks of authenticity which could counter or supersede them.

The origin of the 'late noise' against East Jersey, as identified in *An Advertisement* (1685), is a letter from a John Campbell, a settler in East Jersey in 1684, to the Lord Secretary, and written on the 9th of October, 1684 from 'New-Perth' [Perth Amboy]. This letter is described in *An Advertisement* (1685) as being distorted before being 'industriously represented', or circulated, and so for the avoidance of misrepresentation, was reproduced to the reader 'verbatim' in the pamphlet. While recommending the quality of the soil and the beasts of East New Jersey, there is nevertheless a clear complaint that the acreage available to settlers, particularly those in the 'Town-interest', is far smaller than was thought, as the ground had been incorrectly surveyed. Much of the acreage that is available is required for highways and public use, and what few houses had been built on the Proprietors' account 'were but small'. The response from the author of the advertisement is as follows:

> Now to satisfie all reasonable People, who does not use these expressions, upon a private design, to advance their own interest and support their desperate adventures elsewhere, and to prejudge others: Let it be considered, that first, Those persons had not been above eight days in the Countrey, when they wrote these Letters, wearied, toiled, and freated, with a tedious Journey about 200 miles overland, from Maryland, […] that their information proceeded from the Old-Planters, who besides their emnitie to out Countreymen; and unwillingness they should come in unto them; so all that they can to discourage those at their first coming, and to undervalue the Interest of the Proprietors, because they are behind in above 1000 lib English, of Quitt Rents, would

[129] Anon, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey in America* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1685), p. A2.
[130] Anon, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey*, p. A2; 'Advertisement: To all […] willing to Transport themselves into the Province of East New Jersey,' in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 236.
[131] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*.

> willingly shun the punctual payment in time coming […].
> *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey* (1685).[132]

In the first instance, there was the reproduction of the letter in full, giving the appearance of transparency between the reader and the Proprietors. As shown in the above extract, this account is subsequently framed as being an ill-informed impression of the province from new settlers, who 'in a short time discovered their falsehood'.[133] The *Advertisement*, rather than attacking or undermining John Campbell, positions Campbell as a victim of the 'Old-Planters', who were 'unwilling that others', especially Scots, 'should come in among them'.[134] The jealousy of the displaced residual hegemony of the province is described as being motivated to create a mistaken impression of the region for financial gain. The misrepresentation of the province is rather neatly adapted to evidence the appeal of the province's true qualities as worthy of such covetous envy. The author then addresses Campbell's account and crucially does not directly counter specific complaints through the author's perspective, but through letters from other Scottish settlers:

> At that which John Campbel says, He hears that there is hardly any good Land untaken up, within 5 or 6 miles of a portable river; his information has proved so far false, that David Mudie of Montrose, in his letter to his Wife, of the 12th of December, a month after, Declares, he had got 500 Acres, which was his full proportion of the first Division, upon a Navigable part of the South River […]
> *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey* (1685).[135]

Mudie's letter is but one of a catalogue of materials included at the conclusion of the *Advertisement*, which offer 'Testimony of some Persons that were many Moneth in the Province', including a second letter from John Campbell from November 1684 which is more moderate and approving. These materials are designed to demonstrate that any imputations against the province or the Proprietors are 'manifestly false', as determined by the perspicacity of the impartial reader. This strategy for counter-balancing misinformation has a sense of an open cross-examination, which structures the materials available such that they tell their own critical narrative and would be in keeping with the primacy given to written procedures and testimony in Scots law.[136]

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[132] Anon, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey*, p. 4.
[133] Anon, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey*, p. 5.
[134] Anon. *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey*, p. 8.
[135] Anon, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey*, p. 5.
[136] R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, p. 139. For more on the significance of written testimony to the prosecution of Scots Law, see Allan Kennedy's *Governing Gaeldom: The Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660-1688* (London & Boston: Brill, 2014), pp. 167-69.

The Proprietors thus sought to prove in the court of public opinion that their claims about the Province of East Jersey were justified by the letters of 'several Persons […] who have been Inhabitants for a time therein, and have been Eye and Ear Witnesses, to the State and Affairs thereof'.[137] As with written testimonials of good character, documentation could be used to affirm or undercut the privileges of one individual or group over another.[138] In this case, the reproduction of written materials in print served to raise a chorus of concordant, though varied, voices as a means by which the promotional materials they were included in could 'self-authenticate'. Materials otherwise associated with private outpouring, such as private correspondence or oral presentations, became 'documented' through print, and transformed into 'incontestable factuality':[139]

> The things being matter of Fact are confirmed by letters from persons of undoubted credit, living on the place, and by certain Information of many Eye-witnesses, who, having once been there, can never after be induced to live in Scotland, nor can it reasonably be imagined that the persons above-written are all fools, to be imposed on by lies and fancies; […]
> Anon, 'Advertisement', (1684).[140]

> Now if any should suspect that these Letters are any ways altered, because some of them are not intirely insert, there being in them other business that related not to the Countrey; And in others of them, a large account of their Sea-Voyage, which were needless here to insert; It is desired, that all who would be further satisfied by these Letters may repair to Andrew Hamilton at the sign of the Ship, in Edinburgh, where the original of some of them lyes, and such of them as are not there, may be found with the persons to whom they were directed.
> Anon, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey* (1685).[141]

The authenticity of these letters can be independently proven: one of the letters was from a Peter Watson, who had apparently emigrated in 1683 and whose letter to his brother in Selkirk, John Watson, from Perth Amboy on the 20th of August, 1684 was included in several pamphlets. As outlined in chapter three,[142] he wrote, among other things, that those who made the journey might live as well as ever they might in Scotland and he wished his brother and his family might join him.[143] According to the New Jersey State Archives referenced by Dobson, Watson sailed for East New Jersey 'in the *Exchange* of Stockton as an indentured

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[137] Anon, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey*, pp. 12-13.
[138] R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, p. 239.
[139] Michael McKeon, *The Origins of the English Novel 1600-1740* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1987), p. 127.
[140] Anon, 'Appendix E: (A) Advertisement' (1684) in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (1922), p. 236.
[141] Anon, 'Postscript', *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey*, p. 22.
[142] See p. 75.
[143] Anon, *An Advertisement Concerning the Province of East-New-Jersey*, p. 21.

servant to Robert Barclay in 1683' and after completing his term of indenture, 'was granted headland rights'.[144] The 'Rules of Truth' regarding promotional tracts as described in Wilson's *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America* (London, 1682) would appear to apply here: 'there not being any thing that I have written in Commendation […] which I cannot prove by Letters from thence now in my possession, and by Living Witnesses now in England', or as in this case, Scotland.[145]

Countering Carolina

Although one can observe the active measures taken by the Scottish promoters of East New Jersey to defend themselves from rumours against them, the promoters of East Jersey were not more sinned against than sinners in advancing 'their own interest' and designs to the cost of other projected colonies. The struggle to appeal to labourers and tradesmen was enough motivation to attempt to discredit potential competition, and such was the case in the East Jersey materials against the rival province of Carolina. As with elsewhere in the 'English' North American colonies, the Scottish presence within Carolina predated the Scottish Privy Council's 1681 'Memorial Concerning the Scottish Plantation to be Erected in some place in America' and the subsequent formation of the Scottish Carolina Company and 'Stuarts Town', Carolina, in 1683/4. The Scotsman William Drummond served as the governor of Northern Carolina from its earliest days between 1664-1676.[146] The association of the proprietorship of Carolina with Shaftesbury was not to its disadvantage among Covenanting circles in Scotland either,[147] and many of the indentured servants who had been forcibly transported to the colonies by Cromwell following the civil war travelled to become the early settlers of Carolina.[148]

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[144] New Jersey State Archives, East Jersey Deeds, Liber B, f.403; Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, III, 154-155, 160, as referenced in David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 124.
[145] Samuel Wilson, *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America* (London: G. Larkin, 1682), p. A2.
[146] According to David Dobson, 'little is known of him, or his career, other than the fact that he was hanged for being a rebel in 1677 by the governor of Virginia.' However, his involvement in colonial government so soon after the English Navigation Acts of 1660 prohibited the involvement of Scots in English colonial trade says much for his ingenuity: David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 117.
[147] See p. 102.
[148] According to Insh, 'of his [Shaftesbury's] speech made in the House of Lords on 25th March, 1679, on the oppression of Scotland by Lauderdale's Government, forty written copies were carried to Scotland by the next post': G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 189; David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 116.

Samuel Wilson's *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America* offered a persuasive and attractive case for emigration to Carolina in 1682, and one which had to be addressed if it was to be overcome. To this end, George Scot of Pitlochie's *Model of the Government* (1685), taking the style of 'a Letter from a Gentleman at Edinburgh', offered up Pitlochie's own reasons for emigration to the reader.[149] As part of his recommendation, Pitlochie attempts to 'answer' all possible objections to emigration, but especially aimed to show why 'in particular' he elected to remove himself and his family to East New Jersey against all other parts of the continent, and why others should follow his example.[150] Writing of the *Model*, Insh wrote: 'In the length of its historical introduction it follows the Alexandrian [William Alexander] tradition in Scottish colonial literature. In its discursiveness and volubility it offers an interesting contrast to the succinct analysis and polished dialectic of Barclay's broadsheet.' Pitlochie has his own personal legacy entwined with Alexander and the Nova Scotia settlements, however, as the son of Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit, 'to whom Captain Mason had addressed "Discourse," and who had acted in 1625 as deputy for Sir William Alexander in conection with applications for Nova Scotia Baronetcies':[151] What is clear from Pitlochie's *Model*, as with William Alexander's *Encouragement to Colonies* (1624), is that the lack of an imaginatively accessible precedent for Scottish colonialism remains a potential obstruction to its current goals:

> […] there are not a few who take upon them to censure this undertaking […]: the strongest argument they are able to bring against it, being taken from the practise of our Ancestors, altogether innocent of any such design, tho reputed aboundantly wise in their generation; that therefore in their Children it can be no less then folly, to introduce such a novelty, the same appearing to thwart the verity of some of our old Scottish Proverbs, that ill Bairns are best heard at home, Fools are fain of flitting; and a Bird in hand is better than two in the bush.
> *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey* (1685).[152]

The *Model* thereby evidences the extent to which Scottish attitudes to colonialism in the late seventeenth-century were still seemingly informed by an understanding of history. Pitlochie's text is thereafter an amalgamation of materials collected related to the history of colonialism in America and East Jersey, which he had evidently consumed in his 'perusal of all the Geographicall descriptions of these places in America inhabited by the English'.[153] Thus he

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[149] George Scot of Pitlochie, 'Dedication', *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*.
[150] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, pp. 145, 162.
[151] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 145.
[152] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 17.
[153] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 3.

includes the letters of Thomas Rudyard, deputy governor of East New Jersey, and Samuel Groom, the province's Surveyor General, which commended the province as comparing well to Pennsylvania and West Jersey. These letters had been 'widely circulated' in Scotland from 1682/3 and exerted 'considerable influence in inducing emigration'.[154] These same letters 'from People of Different perswations [sic], and yet not the least contradiction to be observed' were included in the earlier broadsheets and pamphlets, with the same commendation that they remain 'available by request of Captain Hamiltound Lodging at the Sign of the Ship'.[155]

Finally, Pitlochie, as though answering an enquiry from his friend, is drawn to explain why he has resolved to go to East Jersey, over West Jersey, Pennsylvania, or Carolina. The first two are dismissed out of hand immediately, as their proximity to the Delaware makes them vulnerable to the controlling interest of whomever controls the 'Town of Newcastle' on the mouth of the River: 'I cannot be so blind, when I notice the Mapp, as not to discover too palpable an inconvenience to be past over […].'[156] Maps, or rather John Ogilby's atlas, *America: being an accurate description of the New World* (1671), which had led people to consider Carolina as another 'Terrestrial Paradise', posed a separate problem. As previously noted,[157] Ogilby was a trusted reference among the promoters of East Jersey, as a fellow Scotsman and learned cartographer whose account of New Jersey was reproduced in full in Lockhart's *Advertisement* (1685). Ogilby's commendation of Carolina was a consideration by an 'established authority' that could not be overcome lightly. Pitlochie's objections to Carolina began with its coastline, 'the most dangerous in all America' due to the bar of sand that ran parallel to its shores and threatened shipping: '[…] we have a too sad proof of the truth of this, by the shipwreck of the *James* of Air, upon that bank this last Harvest, in which were lost upward of 60 people.'[158] The second objection is to the climate:

> Experience also teacheth that the Clymate of Jersey, is far more suitable to our Constitutions, then that of Carolina; You find in all the Letters come from Jersey, this one particular specially marked, That it is a very healthful Air; no complaints of sickness there, whereas in the few Letters from out Countrey men settled in Carolina; You have an accompt of the death of the greatest part who went hence to that place. George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey* (1685).[159]

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[154] William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, p. 96.
[155] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, pp. 126-27, 207.
[156] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 208.
[157] See pp. 83-84.
[158] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 210.
[159] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, pp. 210-11.

Wilson's *An Account of the Province of Carolina* (1682) had specifically commended Carolina's hot climate and mild winter as the more suitable for maintaining 'Negro-Slaves' and affording the growth of cash crops.[160] Pitlochie's attack does not dispute this claim, but rather extends its logic to say that Europeans, and Scots particularly, were better suited to the colder temperate climes of the middle-colony of New Jersey. Attacking the healthfulness of the climate of Carolina would therefore seem to be attacking Carolina at its strongest point, and with some success. The next and potentially more effective objection of Pitlochie to Carolina attacked the institutions of governance in the province altogether, which discourages 'any having the sense of a rational Man, or Spirit of a Gentleman'.[161] Carolina, so Pitlochie alleged, had a corrupt model of government, which required an individual to purchase property before they could attain to its highest office in administration, regardless of however 'eminent his parts may be':[162]

> […] if you have so much Money as to make this purchase, you may then come to these preferments though you were the arrentest Block head in nature! Money here makes you capable of Preferment, which neither Vertue, Merit, nor parts can do! Can there be a greater discouragement to any persons of Spirit or Honour, than to go subject himself to a Government where he sees himself debarred of any Trust or preferment, how ever deserving he may be? […] I must conclude who subjects themselves to that model of Government, are either ignorant of the Constitutions thereof, or of very mean Spirits, to settle themselves in a place where Vertue nor Merit can neither raise them, nor their Posterity!
> George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey* (1685).[163]

As Robert Bliss has noted, the appeal of proprietary governments in the Northern American colonies was the potential of economic prosperity, 'made widely accessible by human invention', which by implication was unavailable in Great Britain, particularly among religious dissidents.[164] Through the example of individuals such as John Reid, prospective settlers in East New Jersey were presented with the possibility of self-advancement through industry. By contrast, Pitlochie's attack on the government of Carolina amounted to an accusation of corruption that would have been antithetical to the work-ethic appealed to in a desirable colonist.

> […] I need not add the apparent hazard of being next Neighbour to the Spaniard, whose interest it is to ruine any settling at Port Royal; how little probability there is, that any going at first from this can be of sufficient strength to defend themselves

[160] Samuel Wilson, *An Account of the Province of Carolina in America* (London: G. Larkin, 1682), p. 14-15.
[161] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 211.
[162] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, p. 212.
[163] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, pp. 212.
[164] Robert M. Bliss, *Revolution and Empire*, p. 16.

> against their designs, that in case of any assault from that airth; their nixt and only neighbour, Charles-toun, could not give that help, which were requisite in such an exigent, either against the Spainards their nixt neighbours, at St Augustines Fort, or the Natives, if they should become quarrelsome Neighbors; […] I must divest my self of my reason, or I judge Carolina a proper seat to settle my self in.
> George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, (1685).[165]

This final objection would ultimately prove the most prophetic, as in 1686, the fledgling Scottish settlement of Stuarts Town, near Port Royal, was indeed threatened and eventually destroyed by the Spanish from St Augustine. The effectiveness of the propaganda campaign conducted by Pitlochie in favour of East Jersey, and to the detriment of Carolina, is further evidenced in contemporary correspondence. According to a letter written from Edinburgh, 2nd September 1686, from Mrs Dunlop to her husband William, later Principal of Glasgow University, then in Carolina, Mrs Dunlop writes:

> I apprehend there will be little comfortable living in that place, for whou wilt have no encouragement at all from this. All have deserted it, and frequent accounts coming from New Jersey engadgeth several more to it.
> G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes,1620-1686* (1922).[166]

The promoters of East New Jersey had successfully commanded the narrative around East Jersey and Carolina, by an effective control of the public discourse through 'established authorities' and Scottish print culture, techniques which, like William Dunlop, would reappear in the promotion of the later Darien scheme. Pitlochie's other warnings of the dangers of Carolina to the Scots would take some time yet before also coming to fruition. In his *Memoirs of Darien* (1715), Francis Borland sees the hand of providence in the wrecking of the Company of Scotland's flagship, the *Rising Sun,* on the sand bar off the coast of Carolina in September 1700:

> It is a great Truth, that the Judgements of God are often very remarkable, as in the kind and manner of them, so also sometimes in the very place of them: The Lord gives men occasion to observe sometimes their Sin and their Punishment […] Some good People in *Scotland* that had formerly known Capt. *Gibson* forementioned, and his Conversation, having understood his coming to such a sudden and awful End at *Carolina*, from thence took occasion to remember and reflect upon, his former cruel and inhumane Carriage, towards those poor Prisoners, whom he transported to the same *Carolina* in the Year 1684. And to observe how that here, in the very same place, it pleased the Sovereign Lord of Heaven and Earth, to call him in so terrible a manner to his Account.
> Francis Borland, *Memoirs of Darien* (1715).[167]

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[165] George Scot of Pitlochie, *The Model of the Government of the Province of East New Jersey*, pp. 213-14.
[166] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes,1620-1686*, p. 162.
[167] Francis Borland, *Memoirs of Darien* (Glasgow: Hugh Brown, 1715), p. 86.

Conclusions: Pirates and the Periphery.

The literary materials concerned with promoting the proprietorship of East New Jersey which circulated in Scotland in the 1680s reflect a consistent awareness of the existing communities of the Atlantic colonies, the antecedent attempts of Scottish colonialism, and colonial rhetoric. The Scottish settlement of East New Jersey did not exist in isolation, but also provides examples of the maturing developments of authentication and credible representation in print, and the role of Scots within the governance of empire, which would have profound implications for subsequent colonial schemes.

As in the previous chapter, the use of personal testimony in the form of letters were deployed in the materials around East New Jersey as authenticators of the claims made in promotional literature. These letters added a personal dimension to Scottish arguments for empire, as well as a degree of seriality to the continuous promotion of East New Jersey, as the supporters of the settlement attempted to control the published narrative which was being circulated in Scotland. This aspect of seriality to colonial rhetoric will be developed further in its own chapter discussing the newspaper reports around the Darien Scheme.[168] The significance of editorial choices in the selection of materials to best evidence the purpose of the publication, as well as the obscuring of sources within compilations, was also demonstrated in the previous chapter to be a key aspect of promotional literature. The differences between the promotion of East New Jersey and the Isthmus of Darien, in who or what was considered as a viable and authentic source of affirmation better reflects the consideration of the promoters of the projects than the validity of their materials, with practical consequences for the expression of colonial rhetoric.

The Scottish settlements within the English colonies of New England and the Atlantic coast are a highly underdeveloped aspect of criticism on the planning of the later Darien Scheme and the Company of Scotland. As well as exhibiting a lively involvement in colonial traffic and government decades before the Company of Scotland was established, it is evident that some attempts were made by the Scottish communities of North America to participate in the Darien venture. The Scots of East Jersey and New York had already spontaneously dispatched the *Three Sisters* with some meagre supplies to Darien in 1699 in solidarity with their countrymen without any apparent co-ordination with the Company and its agents. Similarly, although the survivors of the first expedition found little warmth from the

[168] See p. 226.

government of New York when they limped into harbour, they were certainly well received among its Scottish merchant community.[169] The potentialities of this depth of fellow-feeling among the Scottish merchants of the North-American colonies was almost certainly a contributing cause of the Proclamations by the English government, which prohibited ostensibly 'English' colonies offering assistance to the fledging Scottish outpost, being issued in New England, and elsewhere. The perceived necessity of such proclamations are indicative of an awareness, at least in England, of an enduring and potent Scottish presence among the North American colonies that appears quite outside the framework of the Company of Scotland and its enthusiasts. It is an enduring question why the Company of Scotland did not co-ordinate more with these existing Scottish merchant communities in the English colonies or seek to build their Company primarily on their trading networks. However, the differences between the Company and these extant communities in their conception of colonial enterprise is amply demonstrated following the collapse of the first expedition. After arriving at New York in late 1699, the brothers Thomas and Robert Drummond, officers within the Darien expedition, attempted to seize another ship lying in the East river to take them back to the Isthmus. The brothers claimed the right to commandeer the ship, the *Adventure*, on the grounds that it was a Scottish merchantman, and thus fell under the authority of the Company's trading monopoly.[170] The surprise at this demand from the *Adventure*'s master, and the subsequent denial of the plan by the Drummonds and Paterson when the effort fell flat, indicates that such an overbearing authority was not readily countenanced by the Scottish merchant communities in America. The advancement of Scottish trade through a singularly 'national' body or enterprise like the Company of Scotland was ill-matched with those trading communities that had evolved in North America over time, regardless of whatever natural sympathy might exist between fellow-countrymen. Thus, while the Darien Scheme may be considered the only 'fully Scottish colonial scheme in the Americas,' when compared with earlier projects of colonisation,[171] the Company of Scotland and its Directors had clearly not reflected much on the stratagems of the existing Scottish merchants of New York and the West Indies. These merchants had already proved themselves adept at infiltrating and spreading their influence through the existing colonial structures of England, and consequentially prospered. Incidentally, although the Lieutenant Governor of New York, John Nanfan, wished to prosecute Robert Drummond for his attempted seizing of the

[169] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 226.
[170] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, p. 229.
[171] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 128-29.

Adventure, he was discouraged by the colony's Attorney who, 'By an exasperating coincidence, […] was also a Scot'.[172]

The ubiquity of Scots within the English colonies of North America would ultimately complicate the governance of East New Jersey prior to its amalgamation with West New Jersey in 1702. Prejudicial laws and taxation facilitate smuggling, and the northern colonies were no exception as illegal trade between Scotland and the plantations flourished.[173] Dobson recounts an example from the 27th June, 1692 of a report by Edward Randolph to the customs commissions of an incident in Maryland. He had found two vessels, the *Providence* of London and the *Catherine* of Londonderry, both loaded with goods manufactured in Scotland, contrary to the Navigation Acts: 'However, when he attempted to take legal action the local sheriff, a Scotch-Irishman, selected a jury formed of Scots and their friends who decided in favour of the smugglers.'[174] A similar account is found in William A. Whitehead's *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments* (1846), when in 1685 a customs official by the name of William Dyre encountered an intransigent opposition to his duties from the settlers of East Jersey.[175] Dyre complained to the commissioners of the customs that when he prosecuted vessels, the jury composed of East Jersey settlers, 'found their verdicts against him contrary to the most undoubted fact, so that all legal redress was denied him'.[176] Around the same time, the administration of East Jersey attempted to prosecute an alleged member of the crew of the pirate Captain William Kidd in East Jersey. Kidd, a Scottish born pirate, was a resident of the New York and New Jersey community from the 1690s between his days as a Caribbean privateer and his more (in)famous excursion as a 'pirate-hunter-turned-pirate' to Madagascar in 1697. According to Prebble, Kidd had at one point intended to join the Scottish settlement at Darien, possibly out of national pride, or the region's significance in buccaneering circles.[177] The courtroom of Kidd's alleged shipmate was disrupted, however,

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[172] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, p. 231.
[173] Christopher Harding, '"*Hostis Humani Generis*" – The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea', in *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, Ed. Claire Jowitt (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 34; According to Insh, between 1688 and 1695 'not fewer than fourteen ships, that had loaded tobacco in Pennslyvania for England … "do not appear to have delivered the same in England, Wales, or Berwick, as by their bonds they are obliged"; while Mr Valentine Prowse, late agent in Scotland to the Commissioner of his Majesty's Customes in London, reported that between 13th April, 1695, and 29th December, 1696, there had been in Scottish harbours not fewer than twenty four "ships and vessels trading to and from Scotland to the tobacco Plantations"': G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, pp. 117-18, referencing *Manuscripts of House of Lords*, New Series, vol. ii p. 462.
[174] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', p. 121.
[175] Daniel J. Weeks, *Not for Filthy Lucre's Sake*, p. 88.
[176] William A. Whitehead, *East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments*, p. 109.
[177] Neil Rennie, *Treasure Neverland: Real and Imaginary Pirates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 42-48; John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, p. 226.

and the man in question disappeared. As with the earlier chapter's discussion of factual fictions and travel hoaxes, the prejudices of the reader and jury were the most significant determiners of credibility or conviction.

The abortive trial exposes East Jersey's general ambivalence to pirates and black-market trading. Piracy, and a mistrust of the Scots in administrative governance to properly enforce the laws against smuggling, led Crown officials in the colonies to accuse the governor of East and West New Jersey, Andrew Hamilton, of failure to enforce the Navigation Acts of 1696.[178] New regulations in those same Acts were included to disqualify Scots from holding colonial office for fear of a conspiracy between Scottish merchants and officials. Hamilton was removed from his position in 1697, but was returned in 1699 after much deliberation on the matter by the King's attorney and solicitor general in London concluded the Scots were not ineligible to govern English colonies, being 'Naturall Born Subjects of England and not disabled to Execute the Office of Governor'.[179] Nevertheless, the following year a petition against the Proprietary government was circulated against the Scottish control of the Provincial government on that grounds that 'Loyall subjects' were prevented from 'Informing against any Illegall or Fraudulent Trading by Scotchmen or others in this Province.'[180]

The effect of the persistent and admittedly justifiable association of Scots within the English colonies with smuggling and piracy, which principally came at the cost of English customs, had far reaching consequences beyond the docks of East New Jersey. The English government's adversarial response to the Company of Scotland's efforts at raising subscriptions in England at its founding likely owes much to a suspicion that the Company was formed with the intention of subverting the monopolies of the English East India Company, and encroaching on other avenues of English trade. The association between the Company of Scotland and individuals who traded and travelled on the peripheries of empire, often in defiance of national sovereignties, runs far deeper that has hitherto been suggested, however. As will be discussed in the following chapter, much of the imaginative potential of the Isthmus of Darien and the Darien Scheme, promoted in print in Scotland, owes its origins to the literary works of the South Sea Buccaneers.

[178] Daniel J. Weeks, *Not for Filthy Lucre's Sake*, pp. 22, 122.
[179] Daniel J. Weeks, *Not for Filthy Lucre's Sake*, pp. 86, 118.
[180] Daniel J. Weeks, *Not for Filthy Lucre's Sake*, p. 109-10.

Chapter Five: Travel to the South Seas

> 'I do readily allow, the first Scheme of a Trade to the *East-Indies* had a Probability of Success in it, a Thing I can not grant to the Affair of *Darien*; which, I think, had not one Branch belonging to its Contrivance, but what was Big with necessary Abortions, such as remote Mines of Gold to be gained and maintained by Force against the *Spaniards*, in which *England* could not without Breach of Faith assist… As to their Trade over Land to the South Seas, and thence to the *Indies*, tho' much boasted of, it answers for it self, and seems a too Impracticable Whimsy to merit any Reply.'
> Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain* (1709).[1]

The final case study of Scottish colonial enterprise to be discussed is the attempt by the Company of Scotland trading to Africa and the Indies to settle the Isthmus of Darien in what is more commonly known as the 'Darien Scheme', or subsequently the 'Darien Disaster'. From 1698 to 1701, with eager and vociferous support from its Scottish subscribers, the Company of Scotland attempted to establish the Scottish plantation and trading colony of 'New Caledonia' in the heart of the Spanish holdings of central America. Almost immediately, the would-be colonists dispatched from Scotland encountered difficulties, with a lack of necessary supplies and equipment, endemic disease owing to the climate, and the unwelcome hostility of the local Spanish and English authorities. The subsequent collapse of the attempted settlement on two occasions, the first through discouragement and lack of supplies, the second through Spanish military intervention, was ruinous to the Company and its investors, and caused wide-spread anger and dismay in Scotland. The Company Directors and their supporters encouraged the view that the 'Proclamations' issued from the English parliament shortly after the settlement was established, which barred the English colonies from providing support or supplies for the nascent Scottish settlement, were primarily responsible for breaking the will of the first colonists and stalling the efforts of the second.[2] Other contemporary records also highlight the lack of regular communication between the Directors and the colony, and the 'Heterogeneous Humours and Principles' of those councillors left in charge as the crisis of mismanagement unfurled.[3] The details around the scheme and its promotion and reporting in Scotland will be the focus of the concluding chapters. This portion of the thesis intends to address a singular question: why, of all the possible locations initially proposed, did the Company of Scotland choose to establish a

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[1] Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain*, Ed. D. W. Hayton (London: Pickering & Chatto 2002), p. 115.
[2] Sp Coll Spencer 56*: Scotland's Grievances, Relating to Darien etc. Humbly offered to the Consideration of the Parliament* (1700), pp. 5-6.
[3] Sp Coll Spencer 20: P. C., *A Short and Impartial View of the Manner and Occasion of the Scots Colony coming away from Darien in A Letter to a Person of Quality* (1699), p. 14.

colony on the Isthmus of Darien, 'a location and climate so unsuitable for settlement, and in a region of such strategic importance to the Spanish'?[4] William Paterson, the man considered to be the originator of the scheme within the Company, is thought to have first conceived the idea for a trading entrepot on the Isthmus while a resident in Jamaica in the 1680s. Here he had shared the company of two notable buccaneers, William Dampier and Lionel Wafer, who had both participated in the buccaneer attacks on Portobello and Panama Bay in 1680/1.[5] According to Insh and others, it was through Dampier that Paterson later acquired an early manuscript copy of Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), which described Wafer's involvement in the crossing of the Isthmus, and his time recovering from an injury in the company of the native peoples of Darien. This manuscript was but one of the 'several Manuscript Books, Journals and other papers of Discovery in Africa and the East and West Indies produced by Mr. Paterson' in 1696 for the interest of the Company Directors, but it was Wafer's that held their attention.[6] In order to understand what drew the Company of Scotland's Directors to Darien, it is necessary to understand Paterson's relationship with the buccaneers, how the buccaneers wrote about their experience on the Isthmus and in the South Seas, and the influence the Isthmus had upon the contemporary literary imagination. By discussing the significance of the Isthmus as a gateway to the Pacific from the voyages of Drake to Dampier, this chapter will reorient the discussion around the Darien Scheme away from the consequences of its failure to instead the implications of the Company selecting the Isthmus of Darien as a site for settlement in the first instance.

Although more famous for his well-known circumnavigation (1577-1580), his involvement in the defeat of the Spanish Armada (1588), as well as the subsequent attack by the English maritime on Spain the following year, this chapter will discuss Francis Drake's first covetous vision of the South Seas, as laid out in his 'Third Voyage to the West Indies' (1572-73). After discussing Drake's memetic legacy on subsequent voyages to the South Seas and crossings of the Isthmus, the argument will then progress to the privateers and buccaneers of the mid to late seventeenth-century, including Henry Morgan and his raid across the Isthmus to sack Panama in 1671. Although initially encouraged by the English crown in the absence of a reliable naval presence, the buccaneers of the South Seas offer a backdrop to the increased

[4] Christopher A. Whatley, 'The Issues Facing Scotland in 1707', in *The Union of 1707: New Dimensions*, Ed. Stewart J. Brown and Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 14.
[5] James Samuel Barbour, *A History of William Paterson and the Darien Company* (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1907), p. 3.
[6] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, Historical Association (Great Britain) General Series (London: Staples Press Ltd, 1947), p. 13.

attention paid by the metropole to the maritime periphery, and the transgression of national sovereignties and trading monopolies. The publication and translation into English in 1684 of Alexander Exquemelin's *Buccaneers of America* (1678), which recorded Morgan's bloody history as a buccaneer, was one of many such accounts written by former privateers and buccaneers that enjoyed a popular run of print. While many of these works offered diverting narratives of events which inspired the reading public's imagination of the landscape of the South Seas and its opportunities, they also furnished a curious scientific community with details of the South Seas otherwise inaccessible.[7] The chapter will close with a discussion of the raids on Panama by English privateers who crossed the Isthmus in the 1680s, and the subsequent editing and publication of accounts of the expedition by its principle characters which include Dampier, Lionel Wafer, Basil Ringrose, Richard Hawkins, Bartholomew Sharp, and others. Lionel Wafer's manuscript was initially embedded within Dampier's larger narrative before being published separately. Before separately addressing Lionel Wafer's role in the conception of what became the 'Darien Scheme', I will first address how Wafer's account related to Dampier's, and the legitimacy it imparted through his rehabilitation as a 'scientific' writer. This chapter will thereafter demonstrate the key influence of the buccaneers and their intersection with the Isthmus of Darien, in the conception, planning, execution, and promotion of the Darien Scheme by the Company of Scotland, as they 'followed in the footsteps' of the buccaneers.[8]

The Isthmus as Rubicon.

While Drake's 'Third Voyage to the West Indies' describes events prior to his knighthood in 1581, the manuscript account from 1592 is steeped in the competition of chivalric imagination that Goodman has described as shaping the English perception and experience of exploration and colonisation in the late Elizabethan era.[9] After first targeting Nombre de Dios, a Spanish town on the Atlantic coast of Central America, Drake's reputation as a known enemy of the Spanish allowed him to form an alliance against the Spanish with the 'Symerons' or 'Cimaroons' [Cimarrons], a nation of former slaves from the Spanish plantations. As with other contemporary English explorers, such as Walter Raleigh, Drake's

[7] Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. 125.
[8] Sp Coll Spencer 63: Frank Cundall, *The Darien Venture* (New York: The Hispanic Society of America, 1926), p. 27.
[9] Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration, 1298 - 1630* (New York: Boydell and Brewer, 1998).

opposition to the Spanish in the Americas is coded through a lens of chivalric conduct, expressed in a respect for prisoners and in unspoken laws of hospitality. In one instance, a Spanish official was initially fearful of being captured as he thought Drake and his men were French, but was reassured on learning they were English, knowing that his captors 'would not use crueltie toward their persons'.[10] By comparison, when the Spanish captured an English sailor in Drake's accounts, he revealed the location of the English cache of loot to the Spanish, 'under the encouragements of torture'.[11] Furthering his subsequent idolisation as a 'Protestant Hero', Drake's narrative also describes his efforts to have the Cimarrons 'leave the crosses' of their former Catholic masters, and to 'learn the Lord's prayer, and to be instructed in some measure concerning Gods true worship'.[12] Drake's interaction with the Cimarrons was guided by the necessities of England's contemporary circumstances. With no territories of their own to control or defend, 'the slash-and-burn tactics of the privateers were directed primarily against other European powers, with the result that native cultures', or in this instance insurgent populations, 'could be seen as potential allies'.[13] The same sentiment appears in the later promotion of the Darien scheme, where the isolated Scottish colonists were encouraged following a letter from the 'Commission for the General Assembly' of the Church of Scotland to deal kindly with the natives of Darien, as the Kirk would have them considered 'as your Confederates and *Allies*'.[14]

While these signifiers of chivalric conduct played well to the symbolic economy of the Elizabethan era and the 'imaginative capital' that Drake's reputation was seen to be gilded with in print following his knighthood, Drake's primary use was as a disrupting agent to the hegemony of Spain in the Americas.[15] As with his compatriot, Raleigh, who proposed planting colonies in the Americas so that the English might not 'suffer him [Spain]' to add to his Empire,[16] Drake sought to prevent the enrichment of Spain largely by enriching himself. In the mercantilist era that Drake operated within, whereby 'political and military power was

[10] Sloane MS 301: 'A Relation of the rare occurrences in a third voyage made by sir Francis Drake into the west indies in the years 72 and 73'.
[11] Sloane MS 301: 'A Relation of the […] third voyage made by sir Francis Drake into the West Indies'.
[12] Sloane MS 301: 'A Relation of the […] third voyage made by sir Francis Drake into the West Indies'.
[13] Steve Clark, 'Introduction', in *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, Ed. Steve Clark (London: Zed Books, 1999), p. 5.
[14] Sp Coll Spencer 29: *A Letter from the Commission for the General Assembly, of the Church of Scotland; met at Glasgow, July 21. 1699* (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1699), p. 12.
[15] Marco Nievergelt, 'Francis Drake: Merchant, Knight and Pilgrim' *Renaissance Studies*, Vol. 23/1 (2009), p. 58.
[16] Walter Raleigh, *The Discovery of the Large, Rich, and Bewtifyl Empyr of Gviana* (London: Robert Robinson, 1596), p. 41.

ultimately derived from wealth (initially perceived as bullion)', according to Graham, 'the spectre of a Spanish "universal monarchy"' over the courts of Europe was closely aligned to Spain's 'monopoly' of new bullion from the New World.[17] With these funds torn from the earths of the Americas, Spain 'was seen to finance the alliances and mercenary armies that threatened the continuing independence, if not the very existence, of many smaller European states'.[18] Thus Drake declared his motivations for challenging the Spanish monopoly over the Americas, that 'before he departed (if God sent him life and leave) he meant to reape some of their [Spanish] harvest, which they get out of the earth, and send it into Spaine to trouble all of Earth'.[19]

To this end, after attacking the Spanish settlements on the Atlantic coast, Drake and his company 'came to the sound of Dariene' where, after climbing the Isthmus, they became the first Englishmen to set eyes on the Pacific Ocean. Then, according to the testimony of 'Lopez a Spaniard' included in the *Principal Navigations*, Drake seized a baggage train of gold and silver bound for Panama, before sailing home. [20] Not to be outdone, Drake was shortly followed by John Oxham, who 'passed over the straight Isthme of Darien […] building certaine pinnesse on the West shoare' to conduct his own campaign against the Spanish in the Pacific.[21] Lopez's account places a greater emphasis on Drake and Oxham attempting to be the first Englishmen to sail the Pacific than on the significance of Drake's self-reflection at the moment in between the seas. Drake's account of the crossing, dated February 11th, 1573, is worth reading in full:

> The fourth day following we came to the height of the desired hill (a verie high hill lieing east and west like a ridge between the two seas) about ten of the clock, where the chiefest of those Symerons tooke our Capt: by the hand and prayed him to follow him if he were desirous to see at once the two seas, which he had so long longed for.
>
> Here was that goodlie and great high tree in which they had cutt and made diverse steps to ascende up neare unto the top, where they had also made a convenient bower, wherin ten or twelve men might easily sit, and from thence we might without any difficulty plainly see the Atlantic Ocean whence now we came, and the South Atlantick, so much desired South and North of this tree they had felled certain trees that the prospect might be the cleerer and neare about the tree there were diverse strong houses that had bin built long before aswell by other Symerons as by these which usually passe that way as being inhabited in diverse places in those waste countreys.

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[17] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), pp. 2-3.
[18] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, p. 2.
[19] Sloane MS 301: 'A Relation of the […] third voyage made by sir Francis Drake into the West Indies'.
[20] Richard Hakluyt, *The Principall Navigations* (London: George Bishop and Ralph Newberie, 1589), p. 595.
[21] Richard Hakluyt, 'To the Reader', *The Principall Navigations*.

> After our Captaine had ascended to this bower with the chiefe Symeron and having as it pleased god at that tyme by reason of the brike, a very faire day had seene that sea of which he had heard such goulden reports, he besought almighty god of his goodness to give him life and leave to saile once in an English ship in that sea; and then calling up all the rest of out men, acquainted John Oxham especiallie with this petition and purpose if it would please God to grant him that happiness who understanding it, presentlie protested, that unless out captain did beat him from his company he would follow him by Gods grace.
> Sloane MS 301.

Drake, by his voyage, had already removed himself from the boundaries of the 'known' world of Classical antiquity, and his ascent up the bower of the tree on the Isthmus reflects the topographical division of the Isthmus itself as the perpendicular division of the North and the South Sea. From his elevated position, Drake takes in the sight of the Atlantic Ocean 'whence now we came' with its associative imagery of his journey from the old world into the new. From there he can also see the 'South Atlantic' or Pacific, 'of which he had heard such goulden reports' [sic] & 'so much desired.' Within a few short decades, Bacon would articulate the desires for a 'New Philosophy' not bound by the knowledge of the Ancients, but in pursuit of the unknown and never recorded. As if to serve as figurehead to this goal, Drake sat in his bower at the periphery of the known world, looking with avaricious eyes on the Pacific Ocean, 'the hero of a new age'.[22] Drake's physical elevation is a powerfully symbolic moment in the aesthetics of empire, drawing himself up to the greatest possible height from the Atlantic side of the coast, and pausing before his descent into the unknown and the Pacific. Drake clearly already appreciated the Isthmus of Panama as a point between seas, but by this contrasting dual vision between North and South Seas, he highlights not only his own longing to explore the South Seas, but also positions himself as a Janus-faced figure atop the Isthmus, the gateway between worlds. Drake's feat in crossing the Isthmus, 'implied even more than it achieved'.[23] Whenever the English ventured into the Caribbean, they did so knowing they posed a threat to the Spanish monopoly, but to cross the Isthmus of Darien was to cross a Rubicon. Landing at Darien and crossing the Isthmus 'posed a new and altogether more serious threat to the security of the Isthmus, that fragile waist of Spanish power in the New World,' writes Andrews, 'a threat of guerrilla warfare sustained from a base linked by sea to the ports of Protestant Europe'.[24] Drake's 'surprising penetration into the Pacific' in his

[22] Marco Nievergelt, 'Francis Drake: Merchant, Knight and Pilgrim', p. 58.
[23] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 131.
[24] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement*, pp. 131-32.

subsequent voyages, and the wave of insecurity his passage inspired for previously peaceable settlements on the West Coast of Spanish America shocked the Spanish in their complacency.[25] Drake had surpassed the illusory bounds that were thought to limit the actions of Spain's enemies, and challenged the very heart of Spanish power: 'This realm [Panama] is the key to the great province of Peru', wrote the city fathers of Panama to the Spanish Crown in 1572, to lose it would be to risk the Spanish Americas.[26]

An understanding of the significance of the Isthmus to Spanish power in the Americas was a common theme to the subsequent crossings by privateers and buccaneers in the decades that followed, such as such as Henry Morgan's later passage in 1669. Panama was 'the greatest Mart for Silver and Gold in the whole World', according to Morgan in his report of the expedition, owing to its 'pivotal' position in the traffic of materials from the New World to the Old.[27] In 1680/81, a group of buccaneers which included William Dampier, Lionel Wafer, Basil Ringrose and Bartholomew Sharp crossed the Isthmus to attack Panama. According to William Dampier's account of the expedition, the buccaneers were persuaded to attempt the crossing after intercepting letters from merchants of Spain describing the fear among the Spanish that English privateers might 'open a door to the South Seas' otherwise 'fastest shut', which the buccaneers concluded to mean the land route over the Isthmus.[28] The appreciation of the Isthmus as a 'door to the South Seas' and the Spanish holdings in turn led Lionel Wafer in his 'Secret Report' to the Board of Trade of England in 1698 to describe the Isthmus as the means by which 'all the Grainerys almost both of Old and new Spaine might by this Key be Lockt and unlock which with Submission I dare boldly Afferm as Fact'.[29] From this historical perspective, Paterson's vision of a Scottish entrepot in Central America standing at the 'door of the Seas and Key of the Universe,' which would 'enable its

[25] Colm MacCrossan, 'Framing "Nova Albion": Marking Possession in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*', *SEDERI Yearbook*, 24 (2014), p. 49; Francis Drake, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake* (1628).
[26] Irene A. Wright, *Documents, 1569-1580,* p. 34, as quoted in Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement,* p. 132.
[27] Henry Morgan, ''A True Accompt and Relation of this my last Expedition agst the Spaniards by virtue of a Comission given unto mee by his Excy Sr Tho:Modyford', 31 January 1671, MS, British Library, Add. 11268, fo. 78, as quoted in Neil Rennie, *Treasure Neverland: Real and Imaginary Pirates* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), p. 21.
[28] Diane & Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind, The Life of William Dampier: Explorer, Naturalist and Buccaneer* (London: Doubleday, 2004), p. 58, referencing William Dampier, *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697).
[29] Lionel Wafer, 'Appendix I: Wafer's 'Secret Report', *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America by Lionel Wafer*, Ed. L. E. Elliott Joyce (Oxford: The Hakluyt Society, 1934), p. 142-43.

proprietors to give Laws to both oceans and to become arbitrator of the commercial World', without regard to the opposition of Spain, appears stunningly naive.[30]

Drake's Memetic Legacy.

Sir Francis Drake would not be the first Englishman to sail the South Seas, his companion Oxham would beat him to it. Drake nevertheless casts a long shadow over the maritime adventures of the late sixteenth and seventeenth-century. As previously mentioned, Robert Gordon's *Encouragement, for* […] *New Galloway* (1625) remarked the 'the shining brightnesse' of Drake and his companions, recorded and perpetuated in print, and which 'beamed a pathway to all posterity for imitation […]'.[31] Captain. W. Jackson, an active privateer in the South Seas during the 1640s, described the likes of Drake, Cavendish, and Frobisher as 'leaving behind them a glorious testimony of their worthy designs'.[32] In a similar capacity, Drake features, alongside Cavendish, Hawkins, and Frobisher, as among the most laudable of English explorers in Brome's Carolinian play, *The Antipodes* (1640).[33] While some scholars have expressed regret over the lack of contemporaneous publications on his famous circumnavigation from 1577 to 1580,[34] Drake's literary legacy was assured by his prominence in Hakluyt's *Principal Navigations,* and the frequency of publications of his voyages throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. These publications, including editions released by his family, encouraged the use of his likeness as a lesson to correct the degeneracy of 'this dull or effeminate age',[35] in the understanding that 'This present looseth no thing by glauncing on former actions, and the observation of passed adventures may probably advantage future imployments […]'.[36]

Drake's afterlife in print thus illustrates how his life and his voyages were subsequently framed towards encouraging further navigations in the national interest, as well as the continued pursuit of Spanish 'gold and silver'.[37] The influence of Drake and his contemporaries on the later buccaneers, however, went beyond 'glorious testimony'. While

[30] BL, Add MS 12437, fols 30-30v [William Paterson]. 'Proposals for settleing on ye Isthmus of Darien', 1 January 1701; William Paterson, 'A Proposal to Plant a Colony in Darien', *The Writings of William Paterson; Founder of the Bank of England*, Ed. Saxe Bannister, Vol. 1 (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), p. 159.
[31] Robert Gordon, *Encouragements, for* […] *New Galloway* (Edinburgh: John Wreittoun, 1625), p. 3.
[32] Sloane MS 894: 'Relation of Voyage by Capt. W. Jackson to the W. Indies or Continent of America: 1642'.
[33] Richard Brome, 'The Antipodes', *Three Renaissance Travel Plays*, Ed. Athony Parr (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp; 238-39.
[34] Marco Nievergelt, 'Francis Drake: Merchant, Knight and Pilgrim', pp. 53-70.
[35] Francis Drake, *Sir Francis Drake Revived* (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1653 & 1657).
[36] Sloane MS 301: '1572 Francis Drake Third Voyage to the West Indies' (1625-1649).
[37] Francis Drake, *Sir Francis Drake Revived* (London: Nicholas Bourne, 1653 & 1657).

much of Drake's 'cultural presence' in the seventeenth-century was gleaned by his utility in nationalist and populist propaganda,[38] he had nevertheless earned his reputation as a sailor and circumnavigator. As shown through the various South Sea buccaneer journals from the 1680s, Drake's voyages had left an indelible mark on the maritime landscape of the South Sea, with numerous buccaneer journals referring to passing the 'Island of Plate' or 'Isla de la Plata', as it was known in the Spanish settlements, so named as the island where Drake divided his captured spoils. [39] It is as if the buccaneer captains could not help but orient themselves and the reader of their journals around the routes that Drake had first charted, commenting on 'Drake's Isle' and 'Drake's Bay' where the famous captain took on water and built a church that still stood for his 'memoriall'.[40] Buccaneers and freebooters alike applied his example to their voyages in the succeeding century, landing on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus of Darien to attack Portobello. From there, they would cross and re-cross the Isthmus to seize Spanish shipping already present to menace the Spanish settlements such as Panama, along the Pacific coast. Dampier also applied Drake and Cavendish alike as reference points in his sea journal, to compare the time taken to take a similar journey, or to confirm the co-ordinates listed in captured maps.[41] The absorption of Drake's legacy into the language and cartography of the South Seas, as well as his continued relevance and application to subsequent voyages, demonstrates a powerful memetic quality to Drake's example, whereby his legacy became culturally inscribed into the maritime landscape of the Caribbean and the South Seas. If, as critics such as Jennifer Goodman have called on us to do, we must understand what explorers and colonists read to gauge the fantasies that drove European colonists, privateers, and explorers in the early modern period, Francis Drake is an exemplary case.[42]

An appreciation of the lessons of Drake's voyages, however, appears to have been missing from the proponents of the Darien Scheme. Prior to the Scottish attempts at settling the Isthmus from 1698, there had been a century or so of buccaneer attacks on Nombre de Dios and Portobello on the Isthmus' Atlantic coast, which preceded attacks on Panama on the

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[38] Mark Netzloff, 'Sir Francis Drake's Ghost: Piracy, Cultural Memory, and Spectral Nationhood', *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, Ed. Claire Jowitt (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 148.
[39] Sloane MS 48: Basil Ringrose, 'Journal into the South Sea'; Sloane MS 49: John Cox, 'John Cox, his Travills over this Land into the South Seas from thence Round the South parte of America to Barbados and Antegos'.
[40] Sloane MS 2752: ff. 'The Journall of our Intended Voyage by the assistance of God out Lord, into the South seas leaving out ships att the goulden Islands and landing on Monday April the first Annogue 1680'.
[41] Sloane MS 3236: 'The Adventures of William Dampier with others who left Capn Sharpe in the South Seas', pp. 331, 351, 363.
[42] Jennifer R. Goodman, *Chivalry and Exploration: 1298-1630*, pp. 3, 219.

Pacific side. No one aware of this history could have thought to land on Darien without being cognisant of the reaction it would receive throughout the Spanish Americas. Similarly, the diplomatic sensitivity to the prerogative claims of Spain to the Americas is aptly illustrated in the delicacy with which Drake's landing in 'Nova Albion' or North California in 1579 was borne out in print. The Treaty of Tordesillas (1494), which divided possession of the New World between Portugal and Spain, was typically interpreted by other European powers as resting on actual investiture by those national forces, and as such England initially focused its efforts on America's Northern Atlantic coast. As MacCrosson and other literary scholars have noted, in the absence of a means of enforcing Drake's claims on the Pacific coast militarily, when reproducing Drake's account in his *Principal Navigations*, Richard Hakluyt positioned Drake's landing to be far north of any contemporaneously held Spanish territory, so as not to bring the claims of England into conflict with Spain during a time of peace. The accompanying accounts by Spanish explorers are carefully demarked so as not to overlap with Drake's landing. 'It shows', MacCrossan writes, 'how paratextual framing could, along with more intrusive editorial techniques, be used to try to marshal a series of discrete items in order to bolster a particular view of English navigational success.'[43] It also shows the necessity, in the absence of strength, for subtlety to an extremely high degree when negotiating claims of precedence in the New World. 'Retaining overseas possessions depended', writes Elizabeth Mancke, 'on people believing that a metropolitan government had the power to protect overseas interests and the will to use it, even if it seldom did.'[44] 'Settling a Colony in another Man's Dominions', as Walter Herries put it of the Scots Company's designs on Darien, on 'a Divine Right to the Goods of the Wicked' is not enough to ensure a colony's survival.[45] Pirates, privateers and buccaneers, as actors whose predations were not wholly in the control of their home nations, were a common source of diplomatic tension between nations, but were frequently necessary for the protection of home waters and to attack the trade of rivals in times of war. As time moved on, however, the buccaneer's role on the periphery of empire would come into increasing conflict with the demands of diplomacy.

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[43] Colm MacCrossan, 'Framing "Nova Albion"', p. 64

[44] Elizabeth Mancke 'Empire and State', *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, Ed. David Armitage & Michael J. Braddick (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 200-01.

[45] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien: Including an Answer to the Defence of the Scots Settlement there* (1700), p. 1.

The Nature of the Buccaneers.

Print had ensured the survival of Drake's legacy, and its application and resonance within the narratives of the South Sea buccaneers had allowed the 'spectral image of Drake' to persist through the actions of subsequent voyagers as that of a national hero.[46] In the decades after Drake's death, there continued to be a need for the 'Elizabethan Seadogs' and 'merchant adventurers', who could undertake exploratory voyages and military campaigns against national rivals and absorb 'the risks that governments could not afford directly' but which were necessary for overseas ventures to be realised.[47] The South Sea buccaneers and privateers who subsequently 'emerged' from the fledgling Caribbean colonies of France, England, and elsewhere in the seventeenth-century proved themselves as primary antagonists to the colonies and territories 'papally decreed to be Spanish'.[48]

In times of war, these colonies issued letters of marque granting ships a Commission to attack enemy shipping. 'Doing so without such a document was judged an act of piracy.'[49] 'In a world where the violent commerce of empires was little difference from acts of piracy', writes Miles Ogborn, 'and might even be carried out by those that others called pirates', the definition of what constituted piracy tended to vary according to the interest of the parties involved.[50] As a society of maritime outlaws made up of the flotsam of Europe and beyond, the buccaneers did not acknowledge any single overarching national cause or authority, which made them dangerous, and it was difficult to control their excesses, as successive Governors of Jamaica acknowledged: 'The depredation and injuries committed by the Privateers upon the Spaniards', wrote Charles Howard (governor 1677-80), 'are from a sort of men without the reach of government […] and tho tis true at my first arrival I did invite them in, twas out of kindness to the Spaniard, to endeavour to reclaime them from that course […].'[51]

A privateer might carry multiple letters of marque on behalf of differing nation states, changing their flag accordingly, and several colonial governments were seen as issuing such letters of marque too readily, making a farce of the pretence to legitimacy. Licensed or not, the legality of the actions of the buccaneers and privateers in the Caribbean and South Seas

[46] Mark Netzloff, 'Sir Francis Drake's Ghost', p. 139.
[47] Elizabeth Mancke, 'Empire and State', p. 199.
[48] Neil Rennie, *Treasure Neverland*, p. 16.
[49] Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), p. 173.
[50] Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*, p. 170.
[51] Sloane MS 2724: 'Papers from Jamaica'.

was ‘further complicated’, in the words of Ogborn, by the ‘tacit approval’ of governing authorities, ‘of the actions of privateers even when they strayed beyond their remit’.[52] Colonial government could thus enjoy the protection that the presence of the buccaneers offered to their ports, while retaining their ability ‘to disown them as pirates when it was convenient to do so’.[53] The presence of buccaneers also offered opportunities for an illicit trade between peripheral colonial economies, including the Spanish, which often struggled in the absence of regular contact with the home nation to resist the extra revenue provided by smugglers and privateers.[54] As with the Scots of East New Jersey, who were so often accused of tolerating smuggling due to their lack of a free port and their limited status under the English Navigation Acts, smuggling and piracy were often by-products of an assertion of state authority over trade which could not be readily enforced. To the extent that they operated as ‘agents of commerce’, as Harding has described them, the buccaneers served as advocates of free trade, breaking the trading monopolies of Spain and any other state power that attempted to inhibit their actions. To the extent that they acted as ‘agents of exploration’, they did so in the understanding that the sea was free and open to all.[55] The buccaneers, to reference Ogborn, were thus ‘a product of weak and nascent empires’ which lacked the means to defend their fledgling colonies independently.[56] While at times forming alliances with each other on the basis of shared nationality, the buccaneers were nevertheless a group ‘more free of national constraints’ than others, and frequently operated with or without letters of marque issued by the settlements of the South Seas who valued their skills and firepower.[57] Consequently, while the buccaneers served as an effective ‘imperial fighting force’ on the periphery of empires, they did so while also living ‘beyond the reach of imperial control’.[58]

It has been argued elsewhere that the formation of the Providence Island Company by Puritans in 1629 was an intermediate development from the ‘Elizabethan Seadogs’, towards ‘Oliver Cromwell’s Western Design’, and a subsequent ‘transition in colonial policy’.[59] Nevertheless, prior to the Restoration, as argued by Robert Bliss, there was little in the way

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[52] Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*, p. 173.
[53] Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*, p. 173.
[54] Anna Neill, ‘Buccaneer Ethnography: Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier, *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33/2 Colonial Encounters (2000), p. 169.
[55] Christopher Harding, ‘“*Hostis Humani Generis*” – The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea’, p. 27; Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*, p. 171.
[56] Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*, p. 172.
[57] Neil Rennie, *Treasure Neverland*, p. 16.
[58] Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800*, p. 173.
[59] Jon Latimer, *Buccaneers of the Caribbean: How Piracy Forged an Empire* (Cambridge MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), p. 82.

of an 'efficient administrative machinery' to 'define and implement imperial policy'.[60] With the return of the Stuart Monarchy came a greater degree of control over the 'legal vacuum' apparent between the maritime policies of England and Scotland and a stricter alignment of prize law from the 1670s following the 'short but intense public mania for privateering' in Scotland during the Anglo-Dutch wars.[61] The 'consolidation of power and authority by the sovereign state' over maritime actions has previously been taken as an indication of a change in the appreciation of piracy in England, as political and diplomatic developments encouraged the 'monopolization of force and violence by the state'.[62] Elizabeth Manke has described one of Spain's objectives in recognising the English claims to sovereignty over Jamaica in 1667 as hoping that it would oblige the English government 'to restrain privateering attacks on Spanish shipping in the Caribbean'.[63] However, this recognition only came following the 1670 renegotiation of the Treaty of Madrid. In the time between, the English governor of Jamaica, Sir Thomas Modyford, issued a new letter of marque to Henry Morgan who thereafter engaged in an aggressive campaign against the Spanish in the Americas which culminated in the sacking of Panama in early 1671. Unbeknownst to Morgan, as he crossed the Isthmus in late 1670 to attack Panama, the new terms of the Treaty of Madrid had been signed between England and Spain earlier that year. The treaty recognised for the first time the legitimacy of the English Crown's holding of Jamaica, in return for calling off the privateers, and finally allowed for peace between England and Spain. Morgan's comprehensive defeat of the Spanish forces in Panama and subsequent pillaging of the city's wealth caused a considerable amount of international embarrassment and diplomatic discomfiture, and in the immediate aftermath there appeared to be severe repercussions. Sir Thomas Modyford, who had been seen to support Morgan's actions, was initially arrested, and Morgan returned to England on suspicion of piracy. Morgan's exploits had, however, gained him popularity with the English populace, and in a few short years he was released, knighted, and returned to Jamaica as deputy governor in 1675, even briefly becoming Governor for three months in 1678 before the arrival of Charles Howard, Earl of Carlisle.[64] As with Drake, Morgan lived long enough and had been successful enough to be

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[60] Robert M. Bliss, *Revolution and Empire: English Politics and the American Colonies in the Seventeenth-century* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), p. 3.
[61] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, pp. 22, 23, 27-28.
[62] Christopher Harding, 'The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea', p. 37.
[63] Elizabeth Mancke, 'Empire and State', p. 203.
[64] Richard Frohock, 'Exquemelin's *Buccaneers*: Violence, Authority, and the Word in Early Caribbean History, *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 34,/1 (2010), p. 68; Jack Beeching, 'Introduction', *The Buccaneers of America*, Trans. Alexis Brown (Great Britain: W & J Mackay Ltd, 1972), p. 15.

ennobled as a national hero, and to have his public image rehabilitated. Unlike Drake, however, Morgan's reputation was threatened to be sundered by its record in print.

In 1684, Thomas Malthus and William Crooke produced an English translation of Exquemelin's 1678 work *The Buccaneers of America*, which described the sacking of Panama and Morgan's own conduct in the raid in brutal terms. According to Jon Latimer, a copy reached Morgan in Jamaica, who 'immediately instructed his London lawyer, John Greene, to force the publishers to retract certain claims made in it about his past':[65]

> While Crooke complied instantly with an insert in the second edition and a grovelling pamphlet, Malthus not only resisted but seems to have spread more malicious propaganda to generate publicity for his edition […] when in February 1685 the Catholic hispanophile King James II succeeded to the throne, Morgan's reputation as an alleged murderer and torturer prompted him to sue in the first ever case of libel in English law for having been called a 'pirate'. He was not a pirate, he said; he was a privateer, and therefore respectable.
> Jon Latimer, *Buccaneers of the Caribbean* (2009).[66]

Morgan subsequently won the case and recovered £200, alongside a public apology in print from both publishers, and amendments to the texts in subsequent editions. Malthus, according to Jack Beeching, was said to have attributed the 'filth and ordure' directed against Morgan, to a Spanish translation of Exquemelin's account published in 1681.[67] That so much of Morgan's attention was drawn to the legal distinction between 'pirate' and 'privateer', regardless of how he conducted himself under either title, highlights the social distinction that each title bequeathed. The allegations against Morgan's conduct in Exquemelin's account, however, held potency because Exquemelin was of a new class of 'buccaneer authors', who had attained a degree of social legitimacy as 'auxiliaries' of science.[68]

As well as providing a compelling and diverting narrative of life among the sea-rovers, Alexander Exquemelin's *Buccaneers of America* offered up an intriguing 'anthropology' on the origins of the buccaneers on Hispaniola, and the early multi-national community that arose from the varied nations that competed for survival in the Caribbean seas.[69] To some readers, Exquemelin's depiction of a life of piracy was inherently utopian or 'romance' led, offering as it did an 'escape' from 'the arm of Leviathan', in an implicit critique of the

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[65] Jon Latimer, *Buccaneers of the Caribbean*, p. 256.
[66] Jon Latimer, *Buccaneers of the Caribbean*, p. 256.
[67] Jack Beeching, 'Introduction', *The Buccaneers of America*, p. 16.
[68] Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800*, p. 225.
[69] Richard Frohock, 'Exquemelin's *Buccaneers*', p. 58.

'hegemonic' pretentions of the state.[70] On the same terms, Exquemelin's account highlighted the national and 'ethnic heterogeneity', which characterised the buccaneers' community, and which in its violence, was seen to have 'confounded [the] distinction between civilized colonizer and savage colonized' in the eyes of the governing authorities:[71]

> They have committed barbarous cruelties and injustices, and better cannot be expected, for they are Corsicans, Slavonians, Greeks, mulattoes, a mongrel parcel of thieves and rogues that rob and murder […] without the least respect to humanity or common justice.
> Sir Thomas Lynch to Secretary Sir Leoline Jenkins, *Calendar of State Papers* (1681).[72]

By living in exile from the law of nations as 'cultural mulattos', the buccaneers disrupted European claims to a distinction between themselves and the native peoples they encountered, by being 'perilously vulnerable to the flux of contact'.[73] The proposal put forward by Neill and others is that the Royal Society and its principal supporters defined an 'emerging syncretism between the teleologies of natural history and a commercially aggressive state' which would no longer allow discordant perspectives to unsettle ordered cultural hierarchies. At the same time, buccaneer authors were able to make significant contributions to the scientific understanding of territory 'that no British official or scientist had ever visited', as with Exquemelin's descriptions of 'the trees and fruits of Hispaniola', and the 'insects and reptiles found there'.[74] Moreover, as described by Exquemelin, their journals conformed to the 'new forms of discursive authority' promoted by the Royal Society by their 'candour of stile', 'plainness of words,' their divestment of 'Rhetorical Hyperbole, or the least flourishes of Eloquence'.[75]

In an era of increasing antagonism towards the pirates and buccaneers, 'scientific' writing potentially offered a means by which buccaneer authors might rehabilitate the author's public image. To resume a 'national' identity and a credible perspective, Neill argues that an

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[70] Jason M. Payton, 'Alexander Oliver Exquemelin's: *The Buccaneers of America* and the Disenchantment of Imperial History', *Early American Literature*, 48/2, (2013), p. 342.
[71] Anna Neill, 'Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier', p. 166.
[72] Sir Thomas Lynch to Secretary Sir Leoline Jenkins, 26 July 1681, *Calendar of State Papers: America and the West Indies (1681-85),* no. 1163, as quoted in: Anna Neill, 'Buccaneer Ethnography: Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier', p. 171.
[73] Anna Neill, 'Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier', p. 166, 172.
[74] Christopher Harding, 'The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea', p. 28; Anna Neill, 'Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier', p. 168; A. O. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America*, Trans. Alexis Brown (Great Britain: W & J Mackay Ltd, 1972), p. 35.
[75] Anna Neill, 'Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier', p. 165; Alexander Exquemelin, *Bucaniers of America*, Vol. 1 (London: William Crooke, 1684), p. iv, as quoted in Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840*, (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 98.

ethnographic detachment was necessary within buccaneer accounts in their interaction with native peoples and foreign topography, to position themselves back within the bounds of respectable society and avoid prosecution.[76] Something of this shift in perspective is seen in Exquemelin's description of the crossing of the Isthmus to Panama:

> At last the buccaneers came to a mountain, and there, ahead, was the South Sea, and a galleon and five or six coasting craft, sailing from Panama City to the islands of Tobago and Tobagilla. All began to take heart. They felt even better when they debouched down the mountain-side to a great plain, covered with cattle.
> A. O. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America* (1678).[77]

Exquemelin writes of 'the buccaneers' as if he were not of them, with the dispassion of a reliable witness.[78] While this narratological 'distancing' of himself from the events and participants he described may have been intended to remove his culpability from their actions, it also lent his account a veneer of authority and impartiality which would be repeated in subsequent 'buccaneer journals'.[79] As described in chapter three concerning 'factual fictions',[80] whatever 'epistemic hierarchy' that persisted to privilege the perspective of 'the metropolis over its peripheries', or social hierarchies which were seen to infer impartiality, 'marginal subjects' such as the buccaneers were able to contribute to the body of scientific knowledge that drove the expansion of European empire.[81] What 'counted' as truth was, in the words of Anne Thell, in 'dramatic flux' due to new standards or qualifiers of authenticity and veracity of the 'New Science', which complicated the distinction of 'pirate' and 'scientist'.[82] The buccaneer's knowledge of the South Seas and the coastal topography of the Spanish Americas, which had previously justified the issuing of Commissions against the Spanish, thus became the basis of their rehabilitation as scientific explorers.[83]

William Dampier is another famous example of a buccaneer who was able to utilise the publication of his journals to 'cleanse the criminal pasts of their author', by presenting him as 'an explorer and scientific journalist' rather than a buccaneer.[84] His circumnavigations, as well as the many editions of his related publication *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697)

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[76] Anna Neill, 'Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier', p. 166
[77] A. O. Exquemelin, *The Buccaneers of America*, (1972), p. 160.
[78] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 76.
[79] Richard Frohock, 'Exquemelin's *Buccaneers*', p. 58.
[80] See p. 74.
[81] Jason M. Payton, '*The Buccaneers of America* and the Disenchantment of Imperial History', pp. 347-48.
[82] Anne M. Thell, 'William Dampier's "Mixt Relation": Narrative vs. Natural History in *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697)', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, 37/3 (2013), p. 31; Anna Neill, 'Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier', p. 165.
[83] Anna Neill, 'Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier', p. 169.
[84] Anna Neill, 'Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier', p. 168.

caught the attention and imagination of the scientific community in Britain, who subsequently commissioned his expedition to New Holland. All too often, however, literary criticism of the buccaneers' contribution of scientific knowledge has been driven by their subsequent public rehabilitation. Hence, Ilse Vicker's description of Dampier, Exquemelin, Wafer, and others being motivated in their travels by the 'call' of the Royal Society to increase their 'stock of knowledge', and who by their skills, illustrate the ideals of the 'New Scientist'.[85] Something of this presumption can also be seen in Winston's description of the 'queer assortment of adventurers' who sacked Portobello in 1680, before landing on the Isthmus to proceed to the Bay of Panama: 'William Dampier (more hydrographer than pirate, whose picture graces the National Portrait Gallery in London); Basil Ringrose, Gentleman; the amiable Lionel Wafer, surgeon; and Captain Bartholomew Sharp, a contentious fellow later voted out of his command.'[86] The raids on Portobello, Santa Maria, and Panama bay are remarkably well documented by the principal actors, who all seemed to have kept journals which pre-date their later appropriation to the cause of science. Analysing the constructive elements of these manuscript materials to understand the process by which these authors and their accounts were 'legitimised' through publication as reliable witnesses illustrates some of the dangers of too readily lending such accounts credibility. The buccaneers became the source material for the writers of fiction and 'factual' literature alike which, as will be demonstrated, would have a profound effect on the determination of the Company of Scotland to attempt to settle a colony on the Isthmus of Darien twenty years later.

Manuscript Matters:

The 'contentious' Captain Bartholomew Sharp had served with John Coxon under Henry Morgan in the 1660s and 1670s and was a significant actor in the events around the sacking of Portobello and incursion into Bay of Panama in 1680/1, as the captain Dampier and Wafer served under. The manuscript of Sharp's journal of the 1680/1 expedition held in the British Library largely affirms the details of that venture recorded in the accounts of his contemporaries and shares many features common to the buccaneer journal which seemed to give their accounts integrity. Running tallies of longitude and latitude are common as marginalia, which lend a sense of immediacy to the ledger although the manuscript was likely

[85] Ilse Vickers, *Defoe and the New Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 134.
[86] Alexander Winston, *No Purchase no Pay: Sir Henry Morgan, Captain William Kidd, Captain Woodes Rogers in the Great Age of Privateers and Pirates 1665-1715* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970), p. 30-31.

a more presentable recreation by the author of an original copy. Sharp's text is also accompanied by drawings, such as 'A True description of the bay of Panama', which featured the coastline over a broad double page, and included a wake line to show the course Sharp's vessel took in navigating the bay, giving the impression to the reader of following the course of a voyage. There are other inked drawings of some of the islands, along with the longitude and latitudinal coordinates, which again has the effect of fixing the islands in place within the journal.[87]

Among the many materials relating to this generation of South Sea buccaneers in the Sloane collection in the British Library, several original and copied maps of the South Sea can be traced to certain draughts 'taken […] out of a captured Spanish vessel' and attributed to 'Capt. B. Sharp'.[88] As with Hakluyt's translation and publication of French and Spanish manuscripts a century earlier, Spanish knowledge of the Americas was a jealously guarded secret. Hakluyt declared one of the driving motivations for writing the *Principal Navigations* was 'to translate out of Spanish, and here in this present volume to publish such secrets of theirs, as may any way availe us or annoy them, if they drive us by their sullen insolencies, to continue our course of hostilitie against them […]'.[89] To keep such texts in their original language was to obscure the information and allow those lands to remain secret and hidden. 'Captured' drawings are thus perceived as instantly authoritative and, as shown by their use and reproduction in buccaneer print, are inescapably associated with the violent means by which they were acquired. Sailors would frequently take the journals of antecedent voyagers with them to act as a supplementary guide. In William Dampier's manuscript of his later voyages, he notes that the ship's navigators 'trusted wholly to the Spanish drafts which make not less then 2350 leagues to which likewise Drake and Candish did agree in their voyages'.[90] Where these maps were incorporated into the buccaneer journals, they were 'translated' to include co-ordinates, points of anchorage, and descriptions of the islands and coastline.

The collection of maps that Sharp provided likely contributed to the charges against him for piracy being dropped on his return to England, as they were demonstrably of interest to the State and to the scientific community. When these maps were compiled into 'Sharpe's South

[87] Sloane MS 46.
[88] Sloane MS 44: Capt. B. Sharp, 'A Spanish book of original drawings of the South Seas' (1684); Sloane MS 239: 'A Book of Original Draughts of the coast of the South Sea from Acapulco to the Straits of Magallan n Spanish', (1684); Sloane MS 45: 'Charts of the South Seas' (1687).
[89] Richard Hakluyt, 'Dedication', *The Principal Navigations, Voiages, Traffiqves and Discoueries of the English Nation*, Vol. III, Second Edition, (London: Ralph Newberie & Robert Barker, 1600).
[90] Sloane MS 3236 William Dampier, 'Account of Second Voyage to the South Seas', p. 363.

Sea Waggoner' (1684), an atlas which incorporated the buccaneers' passage through the South Seas, they included 'Directions for Sayleing', and a demarcation of 'Sharpe Reditus' showing Captain Sharp's passage around South America, from which the reader could imaginatively follow, or physically replicate the voyage.[91] 'The motion of travel is spatialised', as Smethurst commented on 'imperial mapping', 'in a form of travel writing whose main aim is to fix potentially itinerant geographies into a stable, imperialistic scheme'.[92] Very quickly, the knowledge of the South Seas that Sharp had seized from the Spanish had become adapted for the purposes of its proliferation. In 1687, these same charts 'taken from the originall Spanish Manuscript', were compiled with drawings from the passage of William Ambros Cowley, and other drawings from the harbours and islands of the Caribbean seas into a collection of 'Chartes of the South Seas'.[93] Despite the disparate sources of these collected works, the collection of 1687 retains a sense of continuity and consistency as they were all drawn up by the same 'Guilielmurs' responsible for 'Sharpe's Waggoner' from 1684. As with the earlier wagoner, this collection contained an element on each page focused on establishing the locality of the various islands and coastal topography, with reference to co-ordinates and commentary establishing how one would get to each location. Included in the second part of these charts, indistinguishable in credibility to the pages that surround it, is one island now famous for being a phantasm: 'Pepy's Island'.

Named for Samuel Pepys, then Secretary to the Admiralty, Pepy's island was first recorded in the account of Cowley in 1683 complete with co-ordinates and description.[94] In the paragraph devoted to it in the 1687 collection, the island is said to lie 'Northward of the Magellan straights: distance 80 leagues to the Eastward of the Patagonian shore […] plentifully stored with Timber […] harbour seeming fit to harbour 1000 saile of ships'.[95] Whether one believes the island to be a misidentification of the Falklands, some 200 miles or so to the south, the fact remains that no such island has since been found at the listed co-ordinates. Yet 'Pepy's Island' existed in print with the same contemporary markers of authenticity with which the text described the newly 'discovered' Galapagos. It was enough to be described by Cowley for 'Pepy's Island' to be reproduced as a drawing and in print, which demonstrates the trust placed by publishers and cartographers in sailor's accounts, as well as how that trust allowed

[91] Sloane MS 44: Capt. B. Sharp, 'A Spanish book of original drawings of the South Seas' (1684)
[92] Paul Smethurst, 'Introduction', *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, Eds. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst. (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 9.
[93] Sloane MS 45: 'Charts of the South Seas'.
[94] Sloane MS 54: 'Cowley's Voyage Round the World 1683-1686'.
[95] Sloane MS 45: 'Charts of the South Seas'.

for the conceptualisation of ideas and topographies which no one had seen since, and solely exist in print. The same publishing techniques within buccaneer print which denoted a trusted narrative or map would as easily mislead or beguile the public into believing in something which did not exist. When published alongside charts such as those supplied by Sharp, individual aberrations such as 'Pepy's Isle' become camouflaged and difficult to individually identify. The authenticity of individual pieces is compounded by association with other inherently privileged sources such as the 'Spanish' drawings, as well as by the personal prestige of the discoverer, which find themselves drawn on and cross-corroborated through citation and repetition by successive travellers. The mistakes of buccaneer cartography, as with buccaneer journals, once entered into the public record were 'preserved' until they could be superseded.[96] In the words of Defoe, 'if a Man tells a Lye in Print, he abuses Mankind, and imposes upon the whole World'.[97]

Far from securing the accuracy of an account, it is evident that cross-corroboration and compilation can more readily introduce misinformation into a publication, which is the more troubling as both were common features to buccaneer journals from their earliest forms. Dampier's account of the 'Adventures' of the buccaneers who travelled out of the South Seas 'through the Country of Darien' 1680/81 is one such example.[98] While this account includes many of the details of Darien included in Dampier's subsequent publication, it also contains transcriptions of accounts supposedly authored by other members of the expedition. Early on, Dampier describes how Lionel Wafer, the group's chirurgeon [surgeon], was injured in an accident whilst the party was travelling across the Isthmus and had to remain behind with the Darien natives. Dampier uses Wafer's greater time in Darien to defer to his experience with the natives and pauses in his account to include an extract titled, 'Mr Lionel Wafers Observations, which he made when he was left behind in the midst of the Country amongst the salvage Indians'.[99] There follows an anthropological description of the natives of Darien, and Wafer's description of the Isthmus' topography, flora, and fauna, before continuing the narrative from Wafer's perspective from his injury to rejoining the party several months later. Dampier's narrative then returns to the point of Wafer's departure and resumes his journey. Dampier declared that he had taken these details of Wafer's time living with the natives from 'the Chirurgeons own writing though sensible of the greatest part myself […]' and one may

[96] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840*, p. 77.
[97] Daniel Defoe, 'The Preface', *The Storm* 2nd edn (1704; London: George Sawbridge and J. Nutt, 1713), p. A2.
[98] Sloane MS 3236.
[99] Sloane MS 3236.

recognise extensive passages included in Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of America* (1699) from the first-person narration.[100] The whole section on Wafer, however, shifts between what is obviously Dampier's summation of Wafer's experience, and fragments which were either copied from an extant account written or recounted earlier by Wafer, or are themselves the basis of Wafer's later publication. This isn't the only instance in Dampier's manuscript where one might find Dampier ghost-writing the account of others. Dampier claims in the manuscript of his second voyage to the South Seas in the company of Captain Swan that his sea journal of the voyage was the most exact and entire having been progressively written over the course of the voyage. By contrast, Dampier deemed Captain Swan to be 'wholly incapable of keeping a sea journal' as he made no regular recordings or observations. As well as undercutting the conflation of ability and authority, Dampier thereby grants himself a license to make 'discoveries' that would have otherwise have been attributed to the master of the ship.[101] However, Dampier then describes bitterly how modern opinion favours reading the account of a captain rather than a passenger, preferring to see 'what comest from the highest hand though from men of the meanest capacity'.[102] Dampier thus obliges the contemporary reader's elitist inclinations by relating 'A Brief account of Captain Swans Voyage into the South Sea' on the captain's behalf. Dampier's record keeping and eye for detail is what makes his account of utility, but it is his awareness, even at the manuscript level, of the inclinations of his supposed reader that allows him to construct an *authentic* narrative. The editing, or 'reframing' of such manuscript accounts by a corrective hand towards the later inclinations of the editor was not unique to Dampier. The 'notorious […] barefaced doctoring' of Basil Ringrose's manuscript by a third party prior to its publication in the second volume of Exquemelin's *Buccaneers of America* (1684-85), to enhance the actions of Captain Sharp, 'whose *Voyages and Adventures* was going through the press at the same time', is another example.[103] Furthermore, there is a strong implication that the buccaneer journals relating to the 'Pacific Expedition' of Sharp, Wafer, Dampier, and Ringrose, shared a unifying editing pressure.

Dampier was certainly deferential to Wafer's personal experience in his 1697 publication, as he refers his readers to his former companion if they wish to learn more of the region. In the

[100] Sloane MS 3236, p. 33.
[101] Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage: Sea-narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 24.
[102] Sloane MS 3236, p. 471.
[103] Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800*, pp. 86-87.

print edition of Wafer's 1699 text, however, Wafer admits in his address 'To the Reader' that he kept no contemporary journal during his travels. In order to defend his work as more than his secondary recollections alone, Wafer claimed to have committed some portion of his experience to writing before his return to England, and that since his return he had frequently been 'comparing' and 'rectifying' those notes, 'by Discoursing such of my Fellow-Travellers as I have met with in London'.[104] A culture of fellow-travellers comparing notes, and 'rectifying' their accounts through conferring together would go some way to explain the remarkable similarities between the accounts of the different actors involved in the raids on Portobello and Panama despite their varied perspectives. The existence of 'King Golden-Cap', or the 'Emperor of Darien', with his long white robe of cotton, 'belt of tygers teeth' and helm of beaten gold is a feature in the manuscript accounts of Sharp, Ringrose, Cox, and Coxon.[105] The different accounts by the buccaneers can be seen to cross-corroborate the testimony of each actor, and allow for distinct, yet unified narratives. Even the account of the buccaneers that featured in the Governor of Jamaica's report in November of 1682, which attempted to distance any supposition of support for the buccaneers among the colonial administration, found utility in blaming the successful passage of the buccaneers into the South Seas on the assistance of the 'King of Darien'.[106] Although the existence of this Montezuma-like character was dismissed as 'mere Fables' in the accounts provided by the later Scottish colonists at Darien, it nevertheless featured in the subsequent apologetics for the legitimacy of the Scottish settlement on the Isthmus:[107]

> Capt. *Sharp* in the Journal of his Expedition, published in Capt. *Hacke*'s Collection of Voyages, gives an account, that in 1680 he landed at *Golden Island* with 330 Men, and being join'd by one of the *Darien* Princes, whom they call'd *Emperor*, and another to whom they gave the Title of *King Golden-Cap*, with some hundred of their Men, took *Sancta Maria*, attempted *Panama*, and made prize of several *Spanish* Ships; which is the more remarkable, because Capt *Sharp* was afterwards tried in *England* for Robbery and Piracy on this very account, but acquitted because of his Commission from those *Darien* Princes: which is a plain Demonstration that the Government of *England* did then look upon *Darien* to be no way subject to *Spain*, whatever some who are enemies to the *Scots*, do now say against the Legality of their Settlement in that Countrey.
> 'Philo-Caledon', *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (1699).[108]

[104] Lionel Wafer, 'To the Reader', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (London: James Knapton, 1699).
[105] Sloane MS 46, 48, 49, 2752.
[106] Sloane MS 2724 'Papers from Jamaica'
[107] MS Gen 1681, 'Pennycook's Journal'.
[108] 'Philo-Caledon', *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699), pp. 4-5.

The rehabilitation of the buccaneers as credible witnesses in the South Seas, as well as the 'quiet official toleration' for buccaneers among colonial authorities, can be thus seen to directly inform the construction of Scottish colonial rhetoric.[109] In the case of the Darien scheme, its defenders asserted the legitimacy of the Scottish colony, by asserting the sovereignty of the Darien natives to permit their presence, as described in buccaneer journals, and seemingly endorsed by English courts. What had most likely been asserted as a diplomatic fudge screening the buccaneers and the English authorities in the Caribbean from the responsibility of the actions of the buccaneers against the Spanish became an after-the-fact justification for Scottish imperialism.

Conclusion.

The desire to 'reclaim' the buccaneers from their 'perilous' state outside the law and serve as scientific communicators appears in keeping with earlier efforts to control and sanitise the actions of the free-radicals which marked the previous century. Francis Drake's success on the Pacific coast of Spanish America was successfully reframed from the private acts of a pirate to those of public hero through his knighthood, and his use in Hakluyt's promotion of English colonialism and exploration. Henry Morgan lived long enough to become respectable as a knight, and as deputy governor of Jamaica 'largely for his successful, if temporarily embarrassing, sacking of Panama City (1670)'.[110] In each instance, by a process of diplomatic and literary reinterpretation, the violent association between the Isthmus of Panama/Darien and private war against the Spanish was successfully dissolved into the national narrative. In the case of the buccaneers of the 1680s, as well as providing the state and scientific centres with significant knowledge of the South Seas, their rehabilitation as credible witnesses also saw them informing the colonial imagination of the Company of Scotland.

A pleasing irony to Defoe's *A General History of the Pyrates* (1726) is the author's dismissal of the 'speculative mathematicians and geographers' who 'seldom travel farther than their closets for their knowledge, &c are therefore unqualified to give us a good description'.[111] Part of Defoe's genius is in exploiting the ambiguity of early modern travel writing between

[109] Miles Ogborn, *Global Lives: Britain and the World, 1550-1800,* p. 174.
[110] Geraldine Barnes, Adrian Mitchell, 'Measuring the Marvelous: Science and the Exotic in William Dampier', *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol. 26, No. 3, (Fall 2002) p. 46.
[111] Charles Johnson, 'Preface', *A General History of the Pyrates* (London: T. Woodward, 1726). Work attributed to Daniel Defoe. As referenced on p. 29.

what could be considered authoritative and speculative, and the journals and drawings of Sharp and his compatriots would undoubtedly be the sort of source material used by the 'speculative geographer', the editor of the *Atlas Geographus*, and Daniel Defoe alike.[112] As well as attracting the 'speculative geographer', the buccaneer journals of the late seventeenth-century attracted the attention of financial speculators, who saw the potential for imperialism and trade in their accounts. Among the many books recommended for a knowledge of 'the benefits of trade' in the library of the lead progenitor of the Darien scheme, William Paterson, there are several editions that would catch the eye of one interested in the South Seas: a French edition of Exquemelin's *Bucaniers of America* (1688), William Hacke's *Collection of Original Voyages* (1699), and a 1684 edition of *Sharpe's Voyages*, three editions of *Dampier's Voyages* (1697, 1700, and 1703), Ringrose's *History of the Buccaneers* (1695), and various treatises on the East and West Indies trade.[113] These accounts by the buccaneers share company with recommended editions of Hakluyt, Acosta, Bernier, Pepys, and Hartlib, etc.

The presence of buccaneer journals in the recommended reading of Paterson would be unsurprising to previous critics of the Company of Scotland who have noted that, in their initial landing at Golden Island before progressing to the Isthmus of Darien, the first wave of Scottish settlers as part of the 'Darien Scheme', 'followed in the footsteps' of the buccaneers.[114] Nevertheless, the pervasive influence of the buccaneers on the Darien venture and on Scottish colonial attitudes more broadly remains one of the most underappreciated aspects of its historical analysis.

Rather than simply 'following' the example of the freebooters, the Darien colonists can be shown to have kept them in company. According to a journal attributed to Robert Pennycook, the commander of the fleet of ships which brought the first Scots colonists to Darien in 1698, on the 5th of October, 1698 the expedition was joined en-route to Darien by 'one Alitson […] who freely offered to goe along with us to Golden Island. This man is one of the Eldest Privateers now alive. He commanded a small ship with Capt. Sharp when they went into the South Sea. He has likewise been at the taking of Panama, Portobello, Chara & Cartagena

[112] Ilse Vickers, *Defoe and the New Sciences*, p. 143; Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars*, p. 125.
[113] 'Paterson's Own Library of Trade and Finance. Given by Him for the public use', *The Writings of William Paterson; Founder of the Bank of England*, Vol. III, Ed. Saxe Bannister (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), pp. 52, 54, 55, 56, 58, 59, 60, 66.
[114] Sp Coll Spencer 63: Frank Cundall, *The Darien Venture*, p. 27.

[…].'[115] There was indeed an 'Alleston' listed among the minor captains included in Ringrose's 'Journal into the South Sea', alongside Captain Sharp in the raid on Panama in the 1680s.[116] Insh, writing his perspicacious analysis of this stage of the Darien scheme, noted this encounter with the 'grizzled veteran' who had 'toiled across the Cordillere with Morgan', been in charge of the buccaneer's base at Golden Island in the days of Dampier and Wafer, and now served as the pilot for the Company of Scotland's ships from St Thomas to Crab Island.[117] There is little indication that Alitson/Alleston had much input to the colony beyond this meeting, but other figures from the recent past emerged in Pennycook's journal. Once landing at Darien, Pennycook wrote that their party was joined on the 2nd of November by 'Capt Andreas,' a native leader of the Darien Indians included in the accounts of Sharp, Dampier, and others. Should the reader have failed to recognise 'Andreas' from past buccaneer publications in the first instance, it would not be possible to do so in the second, as Pennycook highlights the enduring impression left by the buccaneers upon the collective memory of the local peoples: 'He [Andreas] began to run in the praise of Captain Swan and Capt Davies two English Privateers, who he said were his particular friends, and whom he knew in the South Sea.'[118] As Pennycook was amongst the casualties of the scheme, it is difficult to infer whether he intended his journal to be published or read by others. These references to Andreas, Swan, Davies, and Sharp, however, only have significance if one is cognisant of their shared history in that region of the South Seas.

An awareness of the buccaneers is prevalent in other materials around the scheme. The descriptions of the Isthmus provided by William Dampier in *A New Voyage Around the World* (1697) form a common point of reference in the private correspondence between Richard Long and the Duke of the Leeds (1698/99), when the former was spying on the fledgling colony, as well as confirming the long-standing nature of Paterson's desire to plant a settlement 'near Golden Island'.[119] The buccaneers as a whole are similarly deployed as a reference point in the apologetics around the Darien scheme that surfaced once opposition to the landing of the Scottish colonists at Darien began to be expressed by the Spanish and English authorities in 1699. *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (1699), which sought to 'Answer […] the Spanish Memorial against it' in the first instance dismissed any claim by

[115] MS Gen 1681 'Pennycooks Journal' *Papers relating to the Ships and Voyages of the Company of Scotland.* Ed. G. P. Insh (Scottish History SOCIETY, 3RD Series, VI, pp. 78-97.
[116] Sloane MS 48 B, Ringrose *Journal into the South Sea*.
[117] G.P. Insh, '*The Darien Scheme*, p. 18.
[118] MS Gen 1681 'Pennycooks Journal'.
[119] Ms Gen 1682 'Richard Long and Duke of Leeds', p. 275.

Spain to a right to the 'Province' of Darien. The '*Dariens*' being in 'possession of their Liberty', and living in inveterate opposition to the Spanish, according to the accounts of '*Wafer*, *Dampier*, and others that have wrote of that Countrey'.[120] Captain Sharp's 'Journal of his Expedition, published in Capt. *Hacke'*s Collection of Voyages', alongside 'the History of the Buccaneers of *America, Vol.* 2 *Part* 4, wrote by *Basil Ringrose*' are similarly deployed to evidence the record of enmity between the natives of Darien and the Spanish. Through these cited texts, the defenders of the scheme invoked the name of '*King Golden-Cap*' and 'the *Darien* Princes' as Sovereign powers, whose 'Commission' to the buccaneers against the Spanish was the means of their acquittal from later charges of piracy:

> […] which is a plain Demonstration that the Government of *England* did then look upon *Darien* to be no way subject to *Spain*, whatever some who are enemies to the *Scots*, do now say against the Legality of their Settlement in that Countrey. […] This is the more remarkable, because those very Princes or their Successors are now in League with the *Scots* and have joyfully reciev'd them into their Country.
> *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (1699).[121]

In this manner, one can see how the diplomatic utility of the buccaneers claiming a mandate from the 'king of Darien' to excuse their actions became appropriated by the Company of Scotland and its supporters, to license their settlement at Darien in defiance of the Spanish claims to the region. There is an evident contemporary relevance of the publications by buccaneer authors to the materials around the Darien scheme, and they were seemingly familiar characters to the Scottish reading public. The record of the buccaneers on the Isthmus is taken as a precedent for Scottish claims to the same land, and features in both the inspiration for the scheme, and its continued justification. The literary manoeuvres by which their ethnographies and journals were deployed to rehabilitate their actions, directly illustrates the recurring theme of this thesis, by being shown to have directly influenced the rhetorical positioning of the Darien Scheme in print. The repeated references in *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* to specific page numbers in Lionel Wafer's *New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699),[122] as though both the author and the reader would have the text to hand, similarly draws attention to the significance of Wafer's work in the justification of the Darien Scheme.

The importance of the buccaneers to the conceptual landscape of the South Seas, in relation to the Isthmus of Darien and the Company of Scotland, which this chapter has demonstrated,

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[120] 'Philo-Caledon', *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699), pp. 3-4.
[121] 'Philo-Caledon', *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699), pp. 4-5.
[122] 'Philo-Caledon', *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699), pp. 4, 6.

opens up new avenues of inquiry into the perception and justifications of the proposed settlement of Darien by the Company of Scotland. The literary techniques by which buccaneer ethnographies came to be considered as credible and ‘scientific’ reflect a sensitivity to contemporary markers of authenticity which saw them become pre-eminent as authoritative accounts of the South Seas. The role of Lionel Wafer’s text in the inception and promotion of the scheme is the focus of the following chapter.

Chapter Six: Lionel Wafer

The previous chapter outlined the significance of the Isthmus of Darien to the memetic legacy of the South Seas, recorded and perpetuated in print, which emphasised its use as a gateway to the Pacific by antagonists to the Spanish Americas. In addition, the chapter touched on the use of print to rehabilitate the public image of South Sea buccaneers such as William Dampier as agents of 'scientific' exploration capable of reliably informing the metropole. Continuing this theme, this chapter offers an analysis of the implicit assumptions around buccaneer ethnographies as 'scientific' texts, through a cross-analysis of the varied versions of Lionel Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699), from its early manuscript form to the second edition.

Little is known of Lionel Wafer's early years. He is typically considered to have been Welsh, but outside his national origins, not much is known of him before his involvement with the South Sea buccaneers. According to Wafer's own account of his experiences, he first went abroad when he was 'but Young' in 1677 on a voyage to Bantam in 'the Service of the Surgeon of the Ship' and returned in 1679. His second voyage that same year, again as assistant to the ship's surgeon, took him as far as Jamaica, where he disembarked and lived with his brother, who worked on the plantations of Sir Thoams Modyford.[1] After some months working as a surgeon in Port-Royal, Wafer met with 'Capt. *Cook*, [Edmund Cooke] and Capt. *Linch*, two Privateers' in whose company Wafer embarked on the expedition that eventually saw him join with Dampier, Sharp, and Ringrose outlined in the previous chapter.[2] During that voyage he received an injury on the crossing overland to Panama and was stranded for some months on the Isthmus of Darien, and it is from the recollections of that experience that he published nearly two decades later his *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699). One reason why a truly thorough discussion of Lionel Wafer's account of the Isthmus of Darien has been lacking in relation to the Darien scheme is that the first edition of Wafer's text was published in 1699, after the first Company ships were launched in 1698. While Wafer was contemporaneously seen as an authority of the Isthmus and had secret meetings with the Company's agents informing them of the choicest details of the Isthmus, a clear line of influence between his published work and the Company is not chronologically consistent. Yet it is commonly understood that the Company of

[1] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (London: James Knapton, 1699), pp. 1-2.
[2] See p. 149.

Scotland's directors had acquired a manuscript copy of Wafer's account some years earlier, which they apparently read and re-read as they planned their expedition,[3] before having Wafer brought to Scotland to debrief them further. Wafer's experience on the Isthmus played a significant role in the conception and planning of the Darien scheme. Nevertheless, in part due to his close association with William Dampier, rather than interrogating the 'promotional' aspects of Wafer's account, the more common literary analysis of Wafer's text has tended instead to be as one account among a catalogue of late seventeenth-century buccaneer ethnographies which reflected an increased interest in travel for the sake of science. Ilse Vickers includes Wafer, alongside Dampier, Narborough, Rogers and Exquemelin as responding to the call of the Royal Society 'to increase their stock of knowledge', equipping themselves with the Society's 'Directions' for travellers, and from there, setting out 'to explore the world' of its behalf.[4] The same perspective is aptly demonstrated by Barbara Korte:

> Travel for scientific purposes was encouraged to such an extent that, in the late seventeenth-century, it even became bound up with the adventures of buccaneers. Thus Lionel Wafer, a surgeon who accompanied a number of privateering expeditions, wrote his *New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699) not to entertain, but chiefly to inform his readers about this region of America. A rather cursory narration of the course of the voyage is therefore interspersed with chapters on purely scientific matters: 'Mr Wafer's Description of the Isthmus of America', 'Of the Trees, Fruits, &c. in the Isthmus of America […].[5]

Korte assumes that Wafer's text, and particularly the elements of natural history it contains, were the results of 'encouragements' by the Royal Society to construct travel accounts to meet the appetite of scientific interests rather than entertainment. The categorisation of materials through natural history, which reflects the Royal Society's instructions to travellers on how to appropriately formulate their works, is assumed to be the signifier of the author's scientific interests, leading to an easy association between all such works which contain natural histories, and 'travel for scientific purposes'.[6] In the case of Lionel Wafer, this framework of interpretation has led to a diminished focus on the 'cursory' narrative behind the natural history and the contemporary application of Wafer's text to the circumstances of the Darien scheme.

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[3] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme* (London: Staples Press Ltd, 1947), p. 16.
[4] Ilse Vickers, *Defoe and the New Sciences* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 134.
[5] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, Trans. Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 36.
[6] Robert Boyle, 'General Heads for a Natural History of a Countrey, Great or Small, imparted likewise by Mr Boyle', *Philosophical Transactions* 1/11 (1665-1666).

The First Edition: 'Surgeon' and 'Scientist'

Lionel Wafer first published his *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* in in 1699 through James Knapton, the same London-based publisher as his former shipmate Dampier, during the height of the Darien scheme in Scotland. Perhaps in deference to his previous arrangement with the Company of Scotland to delay publication of his work until after the scheme was initiated,[7] one can glean little direct reference to the actions of the Scots from this publication. Instead, the work is framed to ensure Wafer's personal credibility and to 'give what description I could of the Isthmus of Darien'. In his 'Note to the Reader' he assures his audience that '[…] tho there are some Matters of Fact what will seem strange yet I have been more especially careful in these, to say nothing but what according to the best of my knowledge, is the very truth.' 'Truth' is not limited to his knowledge alone though. Whereby some circumstance his description may be incomplete, as discussed in the previous chapter,[8] Wafer defers to the 'longer experience and more accurate observations of others', while admitting his own account is the consequence of 'frequently comparing and rectifying' his notes through discourse with his 'Fellow-Travellers' he later met in London.[9]

The first section of Wafer's account includes some establishing remarks to his credentials as a sailor, first 'going abroad' in 1677 for two voyages, before settling for a time with his brother in Jamaica. From there, he met a pair of privateers, Captain Cook and Captain Linch, with whom he travelled to the coast of Cartagena and joined 'Mr Dampier' as part of the party which 'made those excursions in to the South Seas, which Mr Ringrose related in the 44th part of his "History of the Buccaniers".'[10] Wafer here identifies his association with Dampier from the start, and folds his own narrative within an established timeline of Buccaneer biography embellished by a compatriot of his from the raid on the Isthmus, Basil Ringrose. There is nothing in Wafer's autobiographical history to indicate he had any formal education as a physician or surgeon, beyond serving aboard ship as a surgeon's mate on these two early expeditions, before joining the buccaneers in the capacity of a fully-fledged ship's surgeon. Although a seemingly trivial point, it illustrates one means by which Wafer assumes an authoritative narrative voice. Medical doctors are archetypal figures to early modern travel accounts, as learned individuals capable of recording observations from a position of

[7] Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2007), p. 128.
[8] See p. 154.
[9] Lionel Wafer, 'To the Reader', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1699).
[10] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 4.

assumed impartiality from the norm of naval and maritime hierarchies. As becomes clear in his later narrative, Wafer's role as a 'surgeon' was to have a profound influence on his credibility with the natives of Darien as well.

Wafer describes the circumstances of his injury which led to his being stranded at Darien with two other companions after missing a rendezvous and being left behind. After an arduous journey, this small group eventually falls under the protection of Lacenta, the chief of the Darien natives, who gives them shelter at his dwelling place; an impregnable habitation made from the trees and hillocks.[11] Some small glimpse of the colonial mindset appears in Wafer's reflections that Lacenta's dwelling, with its magnificent trees and 'stately Plaintain Walk' only lacks 'Industry and Art' to make it a 'pleasant artificial Wilderness'.[12]

After learning of a distemper in Lacenta's wife, Wafer offers his assistance, and with the use of his lancet, bleeds her in spectacular fashion.[13] On her recovery, Wafer thereafter lived in splendour and was carried from plantation to plantation administering 'Physic and Phlebotomy'.[14] Wafer's 'saviour' moment, in curing Lacenta's wife of her illness, places his experience within the same Apotheoses traditions common to cross-cultural contact between European and non-European encounters in seventeenth-century travel writing.[15] It closely parallels Drake's experience among the natives of 'Nova Albion', where Drake and his men received the obeisance of the native peoples after healing the wounds and illnesses of the natives of 'Nova Albion', by 'ordinary meanes, as lotions, emplaisters, and unguents'.[16] Similarly, in Defoe's *Crusoe,* the consequence of the technological disparity between Crusoe and Friday is demonstrated in Crusoe's claim of Friday, that should he (Crusoe) have allowed it, 'he would have worshipped me and my gun'.[17] The lethal advantage of Crusoe is identified as the origins of his perceived divinity and dominance over native peoples. While it may seem like a simple procedure for Wafer to have performed, it nevertheless conditioned the perception of Wafer as in a dominant position over his native benefactors, insinuating imperialist ideologies through the use of 'scientific tools'.

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[11] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 27.
[12] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 26.
[13] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 29.
[14] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 30.
[15] William M. Hamlin, 'Imagined Apotheoses: Drake, Harriot, and Ralegh in the Americas', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 57/3 (1996), pp. 405-428
[16] Francis Drake, *The World Encompasses* (1628) p. 78, as quoted in William M. Hamlin, 'Imagined Apotheoses', p. 410.
[17] As quoted by Hamlin, 'Imagined Apotheoses' p. 412.

Enjoying his new position of regard, Wafer's narrative then moves on to comment on the Spanish means of panning for gold, to the volume of eighteen to twenty thousand-pound weight of gold at a favourable time. Lest his information should be thought as speculative, however, Wafer assures his reader that he learned the particulars of the Spanish gold mining from 'a Spaniard' before unmentioned, 'whom we took at Santa Maria under Captain Sharp'.[18] Wafer then returns to his crew, which included Mr Dampier, and his narrative thereafter is a summary of the course of travels on various other ships until he parted company with Dampier to go home. There is a sense in this narrative that Wafer's story has returned to the regular narrative of the privateers, with mention made to the '3rd chapter' of Dampier's 'Voyage round the World' as a point of reference to the reader. The active presence of Dampier's account in Wafer's is a reciprocal gesture to Dampier's own deference to Wafer's experience of the Isthmus in his *Voyage round the World* (1697), and correlates strongly to a sense of mutual development of their narratives as expressed in the manuscript version.

The narration of Wafer's time on the Isthmus comes to a close and is followed by a description of the Isthmus itself, being 'the main Thing' he 'intended in publishing these Relations'.[19] Wafer then maps out the latitude, territorial boundaries, the bay of Panama, the depth and breadth of the river, etc. Several features are marked out by their use to Privateers, such as the 'tickle me quickly' harbour, 'much frequented by privateers'; the 'swamp of Red Mangroves' used by Captain Coxon's raid on Portobelo in 1678.[20] Wafer also includes here an account of this raid and the 'March of the Privateers', although this is an account based from 'several privateers just returned from Portobel' rather than his own eyes. The land around Nombre de Dios, overrun with reeds and canes, is described as unhealthy, 'being such low swampy land, and very sickly'.[21] The Spanish garrison of Portobello also features in Wafer's survey, numbered at several hundred men, and protected by multiple forts. Wafer notes, however, that they were all taken by Morgan some decades earlier. As if indicating the reason for the Spanish presence in the region, there follows a description of a river south of Santa Maria called 'Gold River' where the Spaniards bring their slaves to gather gold dust, and Wafer references Dampier again to support his descriptions of Panama and the islands in the bay. The comparison is made, then, between the region and the English governed colony

[18] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 32.
[19] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 45.
[20] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, pp. 56-57.
[21] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 62

of Jamaica, saying 'I believe we have nothing that grows in Jamaica but what would thrive here also, and grow very luxuriantly, considering the exceeding richness of the soil'.[22] That Jamaica's 'thriving' colonial growth might similarly prosper in the region as a result of developing Darien is left unsaid. There are further references to the virtue of the soil, the weather and rains, the hostility of the natives to the Spanish, native fruits and how to eat them, the region's untapped potential for sugarcane, offered up in separated descriptions 'Of the Trees, Fruits', as well as the animals, insects, and fish, etc. Throughout these observations, there is a strong sense of cataloguing materials for potential development or exploitation, and reference to the land's undeveloped potential if left in the hands of the natives:

> The Variety of beasts in this country is not very great; but the land is so fertile, that upon clearing any considerable part of the woods it would doubtless afford excellent pasture, for the maintaining of black cattle, swine, or whatever other beasts its usual to bring out of Europe into these climates.[23]

The final section of Wafer's text rounds off his journey home after parting company with Dampier, and though certainly a short account of the various wonders and diverting instances he encountered, it is nevertheless an exciting narrative. Wafer's account drifts from the precision of his time in Darien to more fanciful diversions, describing the dried up spongy bodies discovered on the coast of Vermejo, which were supposedly the remains of hundreds of natives who had buried themselves alive rather than surrender to Spanish mercy. The company find sea-shells on the tops of hills, along with the ruined hulks of ships supposedly carried far inland by an earthquake induced tidal wave. 'This report, when we came to the town, was confirmed to us by the parish-priest, and many other inhabitants of the town.'[24] It is as if in concluding his account of Darien, Wafer were free to revert to the usual sailor's reliance on native and captured narratives to explain the unusual and exciting. Thus, Wafer is free to recall the 'Terrible storm' which lasted three weeks before they rounded Cape Horn, and the 'Islands of Ice' or icebergs they encountered as they sailed around South America. There is even an aspect of providence literature to Wafer's tale; through a fault in the compass the ship's location in relation to the coast became uncertain, and left without rain there was a fear of perishing at sea through lack of provisions. But, lo! '[…] a flurry of locusts and other insects coming off with a flurry of wind from the west assured us there was

[22] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 78.
[23] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 104.
[24] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 211.

land there, not far off'.[25] Eventually returning to England in 1690 after some time in Philadelphia, Wafer's narrative here ends.

When read as a complete work, while certainly engineered to 'inform his readers about this region of America' it is difficult to maintain that Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* was written for 'scientific purposes'.[26] Much of the natural history is taken up with observations which function as both a catalogue of wealth and an indication of the likely profitability of future development by European powers. The survey of the landscape of Darien is understood through the lens of its utility in furnishing ports and harbours for raids by the buccaneers which, as with Wafer's accounting of the Spanish garrisons, outline a roadmap to probable conflicts with the local Spanish authorities. The 'codification' of European superiority over non-European cultures that Wafer's surgical intervention appears to illustrate instead seems merely to confirm his own position of esteem among the natives, and his ability to write as an expert on their culture from his time spent in their company. Rather than a 'cursory narration', as Korte describes it, [27] offering little of value when compared to his natural history, the credibility of Wafer's natural history is rooted in his expertise gained from his experience among the peoples of Darien. The potential of Darien for colonial enterprise is the theme which permeates Wafer's text, making the work's 'scientific signifiers' take a supportive function to that aim.

This is not to say that Wafer's 'observations' are without merit. Philip Edwards has described Wafer's natural history as 'a more serious contribution to ethnography than Dampier's more tangential experience could possibly provide'.[28] The issue is that the scholarship around 'scientific' travel writing and codified cultural contact is ill-suited to anything other than a cursory reading of Wafer's text. As described in the previous chapter, 'scientific' writing supposedly provided buccaneer authors with the means to create an 'objective' perspective within their texts, allowing them to distinguish themselves from their recorded experiences as 'cultural mulattos' and reclaim their national identity.[29] Post-structuralists' concern with the performative construct of authority through 'eye-witness' accounts of the new world and the 'enlightened' eyes of western explorers and scientists has driven much of the scholarship on

[25] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 220.
[26] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, p. 36.
[27] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, p. 36.
[28] Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage: Sea-narratives in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 33.
[29] Anna Neill, 'Buccaneer Ethnography: Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 33/2 Colonial Encounters (2000), pp. 166, 172.

'imperial and post-colonial travel narratives'.[30] Thus, Anna Neill describes Dampier's writing as offering an 'objective' yet 'patriotic' natural history which transformed the 'fluid space of colonial contact' into a 'stable zone of scientific exploration. The boundaries between the ethnographic observer and the object of his study are firmly drawn', and in so doing, returned Dampier and other 'Buccaneer-scientists' to credible, civilised sovereign subjects.[31]

How to interpret, then, through the usual post-colonial orthodoxies illustrated by Neill, aspects of Wafer's text utterly disruptive to clear distinctions of western imperial boundaries, and tending rather to the annihilation of the 'western' identity? At the close of the first part of his adventure when his crewmates arrive to collect him after his sojourn, Wafer delighted in boarding the ship in full native regalia, nose-piece and all, and was not recognised for over an hour.[32] Whatever appearance of detachment Wafer's observations took, he did not share them in his conduct. Moreover, by far the most diverting element to Wafer's ethnography of the natives of Darien lies in his description of 'one complexion so singular among a sort of people of this country that I never saw nor heard of any like them in any part of the world. The account will seem strange, but any privateers who have gone over the Isthmus must have seen them, and can attest the main of what I am going to relate; tho' few have had the opportunity of so particular an information about these people as I have had.'[33] 'These people' are the 'moon-eye Indians', an albino population among the natives and described as being sluggish during the day and liveliest at night. Wafer acknowledged both the strangeness of his claim and the natural scepticism among the reading public of such people existing, and then assured his reader of his own credibility through an appeal to corroboration by other privateers who crossed this land barrier between the Atlantic and the Pacific, as indeed it was explained further in the manuscript of Basil Ringrose:[34]

> Their skins are not of such a white as those of fair people among Europeans, with some tincture of a Blush or sanguine complextion; neither yet is their complextion like that of our paler people, but tis rather a milk white, lighter than the colour of any European, and much like that of a white horse […].[35]

The origins of these peculiar people are unknown to Wafer, as they are born of 'copper' coloured parents and often give birth to 'copper' coloured children. The suggestion from

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[30] Paul Smethurst, 'Introduction', *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, Ed. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (London: Routledge, 2009), p. 4.
[31] Anna Neill, 'Nature, Culture, and Nation in the Journals of William Dampier, p. 166.
[32] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 42.
[33] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 134.
[34] Sloane MS 48 'A Journal into the South Sea by Bazil Ringrose'.
[35] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 135.

Lacenta, the native chief, passed on to Wafer is that the 'moon eye'd' Indians came to be white 'through the force of the Mother's Imagination, looking on the moon at the time of conception.' Although the notion of a pregnant woman's conceptual imagination shaping the form of their children has biblical origins, and a well-established place in medieval and renaissance writings, it is remarkable to see it function as an explanation of racial colouration from a Darien native. Being born 'moon eyed' and white is positioned as 'monstrous', and a degenerative form to the native peoples. The passage on the 'moon eyed' natives at once acknowledges a racial commonality between the 'copper' and 'milky' Indians, and a distinction between native and European 'whiteness', while also undermining the presumed superiority of form among the 'white' European travellers that early modern travel writing supposedly codified.[36]

Rather than assume the dispassionate pursuit of science as the motivating factor for Wafer's style and choice of 'observations', many of Wafer's remarks instead assume a new relevance when understood for their impact on the Darien scheme. For example, when writing 'Of the Indian Inhabitants; their manners, customes &c', one focus of Wafer's account is on the natives' vanity and fondness for combing their hair: 'Both men and women pride themselves much in the length of the hair of the head and they frequently part it with their fingers to keep it disentangled or comb it out with a sort of combs they make of macaw wood. […] They take great delight in combing their hair and will do it for an hour together.'[37] When the Company came to consider what stock was fit for colonial markets, a large quantity of combs were apparently acquired for the purpose, with scant evidence to their usefulness outside Wafer's information.[38]

Native mathematics is also touched upon, being remarked as similar to the 'old English way' of reckoning from score to scores, but also that 'their saying instead of 31, 32, one score and eleven, one score and twelve' is much like that of 'the highlanders of Scotland and Ireland': 'Highlands say thirteen and twoscore as the Darien Indians would, Two score and Thirteen, only changing the place.'[39] Wafer also claimed his familiarity with Scottish Gaelic as the grounds for the ease with which he learnt the native language given its comparable pronunciation of sounds.

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[36] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, pp. 136-38.
[37] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 133.
[38] Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, p. 123.
[39] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, pp. 183-84.

One can appreciate the anthropological significance of this claim while also noting its commercial implications as well. In the context of the work's publication amidst the Darien Scheme, the underlying message of Wafer's favourable comparison between the mathematical constructs and communication of Scots Gaelic and the native language of Darien is that Scots traders and settlers would have a natural advantage in their relations with the native people. Prospective colonists with knowledge of Gaelic need not be in isolation with their countrymen but would instead overcome a cultural barrier facing others less felicitously situated. The claim might also have served to reassure and encourage a Scots readership as to the success of the scheme, as among the best of all possible destinations for the Company of Scotland to have selected. The suggested similarity of the language of Darien and the Gaelic of the Scottish Highlands was not repeated in the accounts of the Scottish settlers of Darien, which included a number of highlanders. However, as evidenced by the famous hoax of Psalmanazar's *Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa* (1704), which included a version of 'Japanese' that was a polyglot of all the languages the author could construe,[40] such linguistic claims were not uncommon to travel accounts or travel hoaxes. The claim itself was, however, repeated among subsequent Scottish antiquarians, setting the trend among academic readings of Wafer's account to further his posthumous reputation as an anthropologist. For example, *An Essay on the Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland* (1723), printed in Edinburgh, quotes Wafer's account to argue for an affinity between the 'languages of the Ancient Britains and the Americans of the Isthmus of Darien', in a mode of comparison between primitive peoples, and to extend the affinity to the Welsh language.[41] However, the full significance of the Darien Scheme to the construction of Wafer's text, and vice-versa, only becomes clear with an appreciation of its earlier iterations.

The Manuscript.

Diane and Michael Preston have described Wafer as first providing Dampier with an account of his time with the Indians of Darien, presumably on their return to Britain in the early 1690s, which was transcribed into the only surviving draft of Dampier's first book before

[40] Justin Stagl, *A History of Curiosity: The Theory of Travel 1550-1800* (Chur: Harwood Academic Publishers, 1995), p. 180-81.
[41] Sp Coll Spencer 17: 'An Essay on the Antiquities of Great Britain and Ireland: Wherein they are Placed in a clearer Light than hitherto' (Edinburgh, Printed by T & W Ruddimans, sold by Alexander Kincaid, 1723).

being excised to be published by Wafer separately.[42] Dampier apparently showed Wafer's account to William Paterson and this supplemented Paterson's proposal to the Company of Scotland for a colony on the Isthmus.[43] 'On 16 July 1696, Paterson expounded his proposal to the committee of investors and left with them a bundle of papers, certainly including a copy of Wafer's draft that Dampier had given him and probably some of the latter's writing as well. The members of the committee were convinced, and the Scots Company was henceforth committed to a colony in Darien.'[44]

One potential objection to an analysis of the version of Wafer's experiences contained within Dampier's manuscript account is that it is impossible to know whether Wafer had written some version of his text already which Dampier is referring to, and to clearly delineate between extracts which we can assume are Dampier's summation of Wafer's account, and those in Wafer's own words. Wafer admits in his address 'To the Reader' in the 1699 print edition that he kept no contemporary journal during his travels. As we have already noted,[45] in order to defend his work as more than secondary recollections alone, Wafer claims to have committed some portion of his experience to writing before he returned to England, and since his return had been frequently 'comparing' and 'rectifying' those notes 'by Discoursing such of my Fellow-Travellers as I have met with in London'.[46] A culture amongst seafarers and buccaneers of comparing notes by the fireside and 'rectifying' their account complicates the invested authority of first-person eye-witness testimony such works relied upon, and yet in its own way also illustrates a contemporary form of verification, through peer-review. If this manuscript was that presented to the Company of Scotland by William Paterson, the prospect of a multiplicity of editors of the account beyond the declared author certainly complicates the conception of the Darien scheme further.

The manuscript does not present itself as being a part of a unified narrative, despite its presence folded within Dampier's larger account. Wafer's account is declared to be his own 'Observations which he made when he was left behind in the midst of the Country amongst the Savage Indians'.[47] However, there is an obvious change in the narrative voice between

[42] Diane & Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind, The Life of William Dampier: Explorer, Naturalist and Buccaneer* (London: Doubleday, 2004), p. 225.
[43] L. E. Elliott Joyce, 'Introduction', *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America by Lionel Wafer*, Ed. L. E. Elliott Joyce (Oxford: The Hakluyt Society, 1934), p. l.
[44] Diane & Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind*, p. 226.
[45] See pp. 154, 162.
[46] Lionel Wafer, 'To the Reader', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*.
[47] Sloane MS 3236

what appears to be Dampier's summation of Wafer's journey 'taken of the Chirurgeons own writing', and a shift to Wafer's 'Own Words' warranted by the close affinity between the latter section and Wafer's printed editions, in spite of Wafer's claim to have 'made no Journal'. Certain aspects of the manuscript that are consistent with the later printed editions are the descriptive details around Wafer's journey across the Isthmus, and the Spaniard's method of panning for gold, albeit the manuscript places a greater emphasis on the locality of the gold mines.[48] Other differences are slightly more nuanced. While all versions of Wafer's narrative include the account of native blood-letting, it is only the manuscript that describes the native practitioners as 'Drs', the printed editions removing the honorific to simply 'Indians':

> The kings himselfe before all his nobles came bowing to me and kis'd my hand. […] (kissed my foot) after which I was taken into a hamacke and carried on mens shoulders, the king himselfe making an oration to the People in my praise and commending now to be much superiour to their Drs.
> Sloane MS 3236.[49]

Asserting the superiority of 'Western medicine', and its use to literally elevate Wafer's social standing over native practitioners was not to be complicated by an implied parity of function between Wafer's surgical skills and native conjuring.

There are also technical and personal distinctions between the manuscript and printed editions. The account of the 'moon-eye'd' Indians is to the fore of the manuscript,[50] where it appears in a separate section of the print edition addressing the specifics of native culture as part of Wafer's 'Observations'. The kernel of Wafer's catalogue of the plants and animals of Darien can be seen in the marginal notes of the manuscript, to be expanded and structured in the later publication. When Wafer uses a poor hunting expedition by the chief of the expedition to secure his liberty by offering to return with dogs from Britain, in the manuscript Wafer pledged his troth to return and to marry amongst the natives.[51] In the printed edition, he not only promised to return, but is engaged to marry the chief's daughter, as 'she was not then marriageable'.[52]

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[48] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, pp. 31-32; Sloane MS 3236: 'M. Dela Wafers Observations which hee made when he was left behind in the midst of the Country amongst the Savage Indians', p. 46.
[49] Sloane MS 3236: 'M. Dela Wafers Observations', p. 45.
[50] Sloane MS 3236 p. 29.
[51] Sloane MS 3236: 'M. Dela Wafers Observations', p. 48.
[52] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 34.

While this offer does not feature in Wafer's written notes, it nevertheless serves to illustrate the esteem he was held in by the natives of Darien and was potentially added to the account to make that very point. By contrast, where the manuscript describes the near worship of Wafer amongst the natives, and his role as officiator in mass native baptisms,[53] the printed edition subdues this to describing the natives' wish for Christian names. Including the scandalous suggestion that Wafer acted as a priest or pastor amongst the native peoples would have perhaps shifted the tone of the text too far towards the fantastic for ready publication. Elliot Joyce, introducing the 1934 edition of Wafer's account for the Hakluyt Society, perceived in such editorial choices the 'shadow of a hand equipped with a sure and discreet pencil' suppressing untimely facetiousness, 'making the most of a subject likely to appeal to readers yet deleting extravagances: the hand, in fact, of a competent sub-editor'.[54]

As outlined in Chapter Three 'Factual Fictions',[55] such editorial alterations are typically in service to a desired outcome. Scholarship of a similar dampening of fantastic elements in William Dampier's progression from manuscript to print publication has tended to perceive a desire to emphasise the scientific credentials of the author and to avoid complicating the issue with the suggestion of 'romance' elements.[56] Such efforts to diminish an account's fantastical elements to better assert its ability to reliably inform the reader is often indivisible from the function of travel accounts as source and supplementary materials for colonial enterprise. In this instance, the more transgressive or fantastic aspects of Wafer's personal interaction with the native peoples is subdued while he is also obviously elevated in their esteem by the offer to marry the leader's daughter. The anecdote of Wafer's 'physicking' among the natives consequently fits more comfortably within the typical 'hermeneutic prism' of contact between Europeans and non-Europeans, 'naturally inclined to offer gifts, food, and land' to 'civilized Europeans' possessing 'remarkable tools, technology, and knowledge'.[57] If we can accept that such changes for the print edition, published in the midst of the Darien scheme, functioned to improve Wafer's reputation as an expert on the natives of Darien and a reliable witness, his ability to inform his reader in a 'scientific' manner should come under renewed scrutiny as well.

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[53] Sloane MS 3236, p. 45.
[54] L. E. Elliott Joyce, 'Introduction' *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. lxii.
[55] See pp. 71, 76, 84-85.
[56] Diane & Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind*, pp. 229, 231.
[57] William M. Hamlin, 'Imagined Apotheoses', pp. 410-11.

Private Testimony.

Wafer's reputation as an expert on the Isthmus and its inhabitants was to have a profound effect on the Company of Scotland's projections of Darien, as demonstrated through a singular anecdote contained in the closing paragraphs of the manuscript account. Before boarding his ship to depart, the 'emperor of Darien' is described as taking Wafer aside, and revealing to him the secret location of a growth of valuable 'Red-Wood':

> The king comeing to the sea side before wee went from hence came a board to see me and persuade me to goe a shoare with him telling me that he would shew me some thing which he did not question would induce me to come thither againe. […] he carried me to a spott of ground where growth nothing but blood wood now. Sloane MS 3236.[58]

While the exact location of the grove is not explicitly revealed in the print edition, this late addition to Wafer's manuscript narrative would prove to be among the most contentious elements to his account, as a point of leverage that he wielded during his negotiations with the Company of Scotland. According to Walter Herries, agents acting on behalf of the Company had been in discussion with Wafer on the terms to draw him into the service of the Company, at the same time as Wafer was also in talks with 'Private Merchants of London' on piloting a logging expedition to Darien, 'about the same time he was putting his Journalls into the Press'.[59] The Company's agents, including a 'Mr Fletcher', were sufficiently impressed to spirit Wafer to Edinburgh in the spring of 1698, under the pseudonym of 'Mr Brown of London', to talk at greater length with a private committee of Company Directors: [60]

> During the first 2 or 3 days Conference the Subject of the discourse was Darien, of which he unbossom'd himself freely. And for their further incouregment he ingages to lead them to a Treasure of Nicaragua wood, whereof 300 men could cut down so much in six months, as should defray the whole charge of the Expedition, which if he did not perform he should forfeit his title to the 700 *l* Premium agreed on. The Gentlemen were curious in informing themselves whereabouts this treasure was, whether it was near the sea or any river whence it could be easily shipt aboard. Wafer, not suspecting any design upon him by persons of so noted characters, resolv'd them in every particular, and pointed out the very spot of ground, where it grows, with the bearings and distance of it from Golden Island. They now thinking themselves Cok-sure of the treasure, and sufficiently instructed as to the Country, had no more occasion for Wafer, and believ'd that the 700 *l* pilotage might be sav'd to help fetch up Smiths Summ.[61]

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[58] Sloane MS 3236: 'M. Dela Wafers Observations', p. 53.
[59] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien: Including an Answer to the Defence of the Scots Settlement there* (1700), pp. 39-40.
[60] L. E. Elliott, Ed. 'Introduction' *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. lii.
[61] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien*, p. 41.

According to Herries, while the Company's Directors thought they had wheedled all they needed from Wafer of the location of the supposed grove of 'Nicaragua wood', the Darien colonists' efforts to pursue it were in vain, and they instead cut down trees at random.[62] Both printed editions of Wafer's account reference the presence of 'Red-Wood' on the Isthmus in the text's natural history. The instance of their presence being 'revealed' at the last minute to Wafer on the authority of the 'King of Darien', and Wafer's use of this privilege as an inducement to his employability by the Company of Scotland, however, escapes both accounts.

Incidentally, this example of Wafer's interaction with the Company reveals far more than is initially obvious. Douglas Watt, in his *The Price of Scotland* (2007), using the same passage from Herries as his source, describes Wafer as approaching the Company directors with offers of advice, and details about Darien, in exchange for money.[63] However, rather than Wafer approaching the Company as described in Watt's reading of Herries, Herries's account appears to reverse the positions of power, with the Company seeking to prevent Wafer from publishing his account rather than Wafer threatening to do so unless compensated. The emphasis on the Company's actions is in keeping with Herries's partisan focus on the Company as ultimately responsible for the ills that plagued the scheme, but such nuances should not be dismissed. Herries then described Wafer, as 'having Order'd his Affairs in England for his Voyage to Darien', an incidental detail which acknowledges the decision made by the Company Directors to select Darien was prior to meeting Wafer in person, when he travelling up to Scotland under the name of 'Brown' under the directions of the company. There, twelve miles shy of Edinburgh, he was lodged by 'Mr Pennycook' at the home of a Mr Fletcher and waited there till the Committee 'should come to him, least by his going into Edinburgh he should be seen by Paterson or Lodge (who at this time were kept in the Dark as to the Companies Resolutions,) or by any other person that might know him'.[64]

From this we may gather some key points. Firstly, that if Watt's reading is sound and Wafer first approached the Company's agents, Wafer would have had to know that the Company was intending to go to Darien in the first place, which seems unlikely. Instead, the necessity of keeping the presence of Wafer in Scotland a secret, and even changing his name indicates that such was Wafer's notoriety as an expert on Darien that a known association with him

[62] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien*, p. 44.
[63] Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien*, p. 128, quoting Herries.
[64] Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien*, p. 128, quoting Herries.

would have been tantamount to the Company announcing their intentions to sail to Darien. Wafer also had enough of a relationship with Paterson that he would have been known on sight. As late as 1698, the Company was still reticent to openly declare their intentions to go to Darien.

Among the most strident critics of the scheme, there appears to be a willingness to concede that the Company of Scotland 'had a probability of Success', if they had pursued 'the first Scheme of a Trade to the East-Indies'.[65] In writing of the putting together of ships for the expedition and attempting to raise subscriptions in Hamburg, Walter Herries, who can find scant else to commend the project, commented that '[…] this part of the Project was reasonable on both the Scotch and Hamburgher side, if it had been meant as it was told'.[66] But the Hamburghers knew nothing of Darien, and it seems the decision to go to Darien was the common mark of reprisal among the Company's critics, including Daniel Defoe: '[…] the Affair of Darien; which, I think, had not one Branch belonging to its Contrivance, but what was Big with necessary Abortions, such as remote Mines of Gold to be gained and maintained by Force against the *Spaniards*, in which *England* could not without Breach of Faith assist […] As to their Trade over Land to the South Seas, and thence to the Indies, tho' much boasted of, it answers for it self, and seems a too Impracticable Whimsy to merit any Reply.'[67] The figure of Wafer, as the pre-eminent expert on Darien in contemporary circles, must by necessity loom far larger over the decision of the Company to go there in the first place than is ever credited.

Secret Report

Wafer's involvement in the planning of a colony on the Isthmus of Darien was not limited to the Company of Scotland, however. On the 2nd of July 1697, after learning of the potential of a Scottish colony in the West Indies, William Dampier and Lionel Wafer were together called before the Honourable Council of Lords of Trade and Plantations in London, to offer their opinions on the potential of the Isthmus of Darien for settlement. After questioning both gentlemen closely on the state of the country and its qualities, the council were impressed enough by their replies to propose 'the pre-emptive annexation by English of Golden Island',

[65] Comment by Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain part 1*. Edited by D. W. Hayton (London, Pickering & Chatto 2002), p. 115.
[66] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien*, p. 17.
[67] Daniel Defoe, *The History of the Union of Great Britain part 1*, p. 115.

off the coast of Darien, 'and some of the neighbouring mainland, although nothing ultimately came of this proposal'.[68]

The following year, and likely after the first wave of Scottish ships departed for Darien, Wafer offered up an additional testimony, in his 'Secret Report' to Sir Thomas Osbourne, Duke of Leeds. The orthography and style of this report, according to Joyce, was closer to that of the original journal than the first edition of his account.[69] Wafer apparently sought to inform the Duke of the conditions of South America and the Isthmus of Darien 'for the Welfaire and Advantage' of his country, with an eye to encouraging an English colony. It is evident from the report that if an English colony was being proposed by the Duke, its exact location had not been finalised. Much of Wafer's report consists of him unburdening himself of information regarding possible locations for viable ports and harbours best positioned for trade with and without the consent of the Spanish authorities. The English, Wafer advised, should disregard making any kind of settlement on the many islands 'past the Cape and Run downe to the 48 Degree Northward from the Cape'. These islands, Wafer writes, were 'Inhabitet by Wild Indians onely who have neither Traffick nor Trade, nor doe I find the Spaniards have any settlements in those Parts worth the takeing notice off [sic] and to be sure if there were any Hony the Bees could be there.'[70]

One of the points of contention over the legality and sense of the Scots settlement on the Isthmus was its proximity to major Spanish settlements. There is the hint of the predatory attitude of the buccaneer in Wafer's estimation then, that the presence of such 'bees' is indicative of 'hony'. Moreover, looking through Wafer's remarks 'of the Insects' of Darien, he suggests that the honey bees of Darien 'have no Stings: But that's a thing I never examined'.[71] Given Wafer's choice of language to explain the allure of the Spanish settlements to their European rivals in his *Secret Report* as 'no Bees without honey', the illusory presence of 'Bees without strings' may be read as suggesting the powerlessness of the Spanish to defend themselves. Wafer is similarly aggressive when writing of the potential of Panama:

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[68] Diane & Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind*, p. 227; 'Board of Trade Journal, 1697, July 2', *The Writings of William Paterson; Founder of the Bank of England*, Vol. III Ed. Saxe Bannister (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), pp. 258, 260-61.
[69] L. E. Elliott Joyce, 'Introduction' *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. lxii.
[70] L. E. Elliott Joyce, 'Appendix I Wafer's "Secret Report"' *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 137.
[71] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 123.

> If this place was taken from the Spaniards and made A Colloney it would undoubtedly Distroy the whole Trade of Peru and Chili and cut of the Communication they have with Portobell and Consequently ruine the whole Trade of Old Spaine. This my Lord is a matter of soe great Importance that I dare but Slightly Touch itt, Least I shold be thought to meddle with that which is above my Reach; all the Grainerys almost both of Old and new Spaine might by this Key be Lockt and unlockt which with Submistion I dare boldly Afferm as Fact.[72]

Wafer was entirely correct that the highway of the Isthmus of Panama and Darien was the 'key' to the Spanish possessions of the Americas. As 'Old' Scotland sought renewal through 'New Caledonia', the fates of domestic and colonial possessions were tied together. The similarity of terms between Wafer's description of Panama as the 'Key' to the Spanish dominion 'to be locked and unlocked', and Paterson's envisaging of Darien as the 'door to the Universe', is a prescient one. Wafer says little of Darien, however, having '[…] fully Described it Already and the Scots having Settled there', and instead referring the Duke to his book 'and the Following Sheets'. [73] Instead, he recommended an English settlement between Coquimbo and Baldivia/Valvidia in modern Chile, but again, nothing came of his suggestions to the English authorities.

The succeeding chapters will discuss in greater depth the use of the first editions of Lionel Wafer's and William Dampier's accounts in pamphlets and other promotional works to demonstrate the material context of Wafer and Dampier's work in the Darien scheme between 1699 and 1700.[74] It is worth briefly noting, however, what aspects of Wafer's text featured in contemporary promotional works. The pamphlet *A Short Account of the late news from, and description of the Isthmus of Darien, where the Scots Collony are settled*, printed and sold by John Vallange in Edinburgh, 1699, sought to capitalise on the palpable thirst for information on Darien that followed the announcement of the successful landing of the Scots on the Isthmus in early March of that year.

Vallange's pamphlet sought to slake this thirst by combining 'the contents of some letters writ from the Place where they are settled' in 'New Edinburgh', alongside extracts from the recently published writings of Dampier and Wafer on Darien: 'Which Books, being of a considerable Price, and treating of several other Parts of the World, and containing some Digressions; I have thought it would be no unacceptable Work to Extract what related more

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[72] L. E. Elliott Joyce, 'Appendix I Wafer's "Secret Report"' *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 142-43.
[73] L. E. Elliott Joyce, 'Appendix I Wafer's "Secret Report"' *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America*, p. 145.
[74] See pp. 238, 241, 248.

particularly to Our Scots African Company.'[75] The editor offered to cut through the digressions of each work, and present that which they deemed most pertinent to 'Our Scots African Company'. The qualifying criteria, however, appears to have been the most engaging and titillating episodes from the two buccaneers. Wafer's 'moon eyed' Indians feature, alongside reassurances that there must be gold mines, as the natives have gold dust and rock gold. Fortunately for the Scots, '[…] They (the natives) do not know the true Value or Use of it, for I saw one give for an Old Coat, not worth above Twenty Shillings Sterlin, to the Value of Twenty Guineas of Gold'.[76] 'No reason to doubt' is a far cry from absolute proof, and there is also a bitter irony to the example given of trading a twenty shilling coat for twenty guineas of gold. A letter to the Company sent from 'Caledonia Bay, 23rd December, 1699' by James Byres, on the second wave of colonists arriving at Darien, recounts that the threat of starvation faced by the first wave of colonists had been such that they had been forced to sell the shirts off their backs to the Natives in exchange for plantains.[77] The possibility of such privations does not appear in the references to what 'Mr Wafer says' on the Spanish means to gather gold, the hunting and fermenting practices of the natives, or the long exposition on Chief Lacenta and native bloodletting which was such a particular diversion in Wafer's text. The concluding page instead pauses to reiterate the issue of gold, including a capitalised emphasis that the natives all possessed 'GOLD SCALES IN EVERY HOUSE', and the necessity for future travellers of the strongest of bags to carry the heavy metal home.[78]

The pamphlet reveals what was thought to be most appealing to the public from respected sources, as well as how materials were collected and edited together to inform a particular reading, something of great relevance to the reading of Wafer's second and final edition.

The Second Edition

Although there is a significant amount of material to relate the construction of Wafer's 1699 text to the conception and promotion of the Darien Scheme, and Wafer's role therein, the clearest instance of Wafer's account of Darien being coded with scientific signifiers in the

[75] Anon. *A Short Account* […], *from, and Description of the Isthmus of Darien* (Edinburgh: John Vallange, 1699), p. A2.
[76] Anon, *A Short Account* […], *from, and Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, p. 1.
[77] Sp Coll Spencer 66: James Byres, *A Letter to a Friend from Roterdam* (1702), p. 16.
[78] Anon, *A Short Account* […], *from, and Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, p. 19.

service of an avowedly imperialist goal comes after the collapse of the scheme, in the much overlooked second edition published the year before Wafer's death in 1705.

An immediate point of contrast between the two printed editions is the difference in 'Dedication' from the Earl of Romney, to the more notable 'John, Duke of Marlborough' (1650-1722). Wafer claimed to have published this second edition of his work 'not so much because the first impression is wholly sold off', but to give occasion to the Ministry of which Marlborough was a part of 'to think of making a settlement on one of the most valuable spots of ground in the world'.[79] Following the regrettable 'miscarriage […] of the *Scots* in this Design', Wafer evidently changed horses and republished with the intent of representing to the reader and 'to the World how far it would be in the Interest of England to make an Establishment upon that continent; the Product of whose bowels enriches the other Three Parts of the World'.[80]

Wafer's personal credibility would have suffered following the failure of the Scottish colony, yet he was not without the skill to turn the failure of the Darien scheme to his new purpose of an English design. Wafer's advocacy of the advantages of a settlement at Darien mirrors the same arguments employed by Paterson and the Company of Scotland's directors. 'By such a settlement' Wafer claimed, 'a free passage by land from the Atlantic to the South-sea might easily be affected, which would be of the greatest consequence to the east-india Trade'.[81] The immediate proximity of the Spanish, which formed such a focus to many of the close examinations published in Scotland in the wake of the scheme's collapse, is compared by Wafer to the vicinity of the English Colonies in America, a means of support bitterly absent to the Scottish colony. Furthermore, Wafer is now able to refer to the 'Testimony of all the Scotch Gentlemen', or rather, their lack of contradiction, as 'sufficient authority to confirm the Truth' of Wafer's account of Indian conjuring and other aspects of Wafer's original account that apparently came under the greatest scrutiny.[82] While observing this new orientation towards an *English* settlement on the Isthmus of Darien and reassurances to the reader of his continued integrity, the main body of Wafer's narrative and observations are unchanged in the second edition. Instead, to reaffirm his credibility to the reader and advance the declared purpose of this second edition, the text is supplemented by additional accounts.

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[79] Lionel Wafer, 'Dedication', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (London: James Knapton, 1704).
[80] Lionel Wafer, 'Dedication', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704).
[81] Lionel Wafer, 'Dedication', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704).
[82] Lionel Wafer, 'Preface', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704).

One is ‘An Additional Account’ offering a fulsome natural history of the Isthmus ‘Communicated by a Member of the Royal Society’.[83] The other is ‘Davis’s Expedition to the Gold Mines’, by Nathanial Davis, describing a raid on Spanish America by the author and his fellows in 1702.[84]

There are various aspects to the accounts by the ‘member of the Royal Society’ which invite questions; not least being the identity of the supposed fellow, as the unnamed member of the Society is not intimated as having been to Darien themselves. Consider items 5 & 6 in the dictionary of animals, one a household warden from danger, and the other a potent threat to the unborn:

> 5. The House Lizzard. Is a friendly animal, for if it sees you in danger of any hurtful creature whilst asleep, it will come and awake you. They are very common in gardens and about the houses.
>
> 6 The Blew-tail’d lizard. Is not thicker than a swan-quill and but three inches long; its body smooth and squarish; these are said to be poisonous and thirst after the blood of breeding women: and they report that if a woman or but her cloaths do touch this creature; she will afterwards prove barren.
> Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704).[85]

Neither of these creatures is mentioned by Wafer, whom we have some assurances was a resident of Darien for at least some weeks. The authenticity of the account, however, is assumed by its self-declared association with a member of the ‘Royal Society’. The merit to the reader of this natural history is then not solely scientific, but authoritative: a transferable commodity which Wafer’s account enjoys by its inclusion. Part of this reflective authority, or ‘gilt’ by association can be seen in the critical reception Wafer has been granted in posterity, with Judy Hayden citing the addition of the text from the ‘Member of the Royal Society’ as evidence that Wafer attempted to offer his reader ‘unbelievable wonders’, while ‘encouraging them to believe these wonders on the basis of the physical evidence’.[86] Yet without corroboration, the above appears to the modern reader as rather fanciful speculations likely based on someone else’s words, and the repetition of rumours. As with Wafer’s own account of the region’s flora and fauna, the Royal Society member’s list can again be partially seen as

[83] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704), pp. 180-264.
[84] Lionel Wafer, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704), pp. 265-283
[85] Lionel Wafer, ‘Preface’, *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704), p. 211.
[86] Judy A. Hayden, ‘“As Far as a Woman’s Reasoning May go”: Aphra Behn, *Oroonoko*, and the New Science’, in *Travel Narratives, the New Science, and Literary Discourse, 1569-1750*, Ed. Judy A. Hayden (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Ltd, 2012), p. 124.

a catalogue of wealth, especially the trees which were such a pressing point for Directors of the Company of Scotland in their interest in Wafer, as well as in Wafer's 'Secret Report'.

The inclusion of Davis' 'Expedition' appears mostly intended to play to the gold fever which marked many of the early pamphlets promoting the Darien Scheme in Edinburgh. 'Being sensible that many times there is but little credit given to adventures of this kind,' Wafer acknowledged the scanty credibility granted to such adventures by his readership.[87] If there be any hesitation on trusting such an account, Wafer desired his readership to 'take notice' that Davis' account is but a fuller version of that which was 'briefly and defectively inserted in the London Gazette of February 8, 1702'.[88] The text thus takes an established publication which has already been consumed by the public as a point of reference and origin. In addition to gaining 'gilt by association' with an item of public record, there is also the added advantage of framing the account as correcting an article 'defectively inserted', to position itself as the authoritative truth. Davis' account is certainly closer to the adventures of the buccaneers in its description of events. In bold strokes, the expedition attacked Tolon, ingratiated itself with the native Indians and took the fort and mines of Santa Maria. The narrative is close and exciting, with night marches to take the fortifications by surprise, forming alliances with French Privateers, meeting 'Don Pedro – King of the Indians' to wage war against the Spaniards, and crossing over the territory.[89] As with other privateers who went before them, the crossing of the mountains of the Isthmus remains a peculiarly touching focal point, with Davis recalling his men imagining themselves to be within 'a stone's cast of Heaven, and would willingly have tarry'd there […]'.[90] The narrative turns to more mortal affairs, however, as there is next a description of the process of mining and washing of gold ore to make into bars, and the torture and murder of Spanish prisoners to reveal the location of their treasures.[91] The account is then briskly wound up.

If Davis's account is closer to the adventures of the buccaneers in its description of the gold mines and opportunities to the bold, the Royal Society member functions to make Wafer's account credible by association, to make the unknown understood through a matrix of 'fact' or 'truth'. Wafer's paratextual additions to the second edition are intended to reinforce and reframe Wafer's own role as an advocate for settlement at Darien, by enhancing the

[87] Lionel Wafer, 'Preface', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704), p. 263.
[88] Lionel Wafer, 'Preface', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704), p. 263.
[89] Lionel Wafer, 'Preface', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704), p. 272.
[90] Lionel Wafer, 'Preface', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704), p. 278.
[91] Lionel Wafer, 'Preface', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704), pp. 280-81.

legitimacy of his natural history through the literary voice of the Royal Society and justifying Wafer's claims of the region's opportunities for wealth and prosperity by deferring to Davis' account of the gold mines. Bearing these two additional elements in mind, and to return to Korte's original description of Wafer's work, it is clear the scientific elements of Wafer's text are not solely to inform, or even entertain, but have further developed to persuade. Wafer's account of Darien evolved through its editions to reflect the demands of his contemporaneous circumstances, changing with his audience and his own intentions in its answers to the enduring question of credible representation in travel accounts. Thus, one may see the mutuality between literary, scientific, and imperial discourse.

Conclusion: Literary Afterlives.

It is undoubtedly to Wafer's credit as an author that the perception of his work continues to be one of scientific interest. Korte's and Hayden's reasons for their analyses of Wafer's account as being written for scientific interest rather than entertainment appear to be based on the stylistic ordering of Wafer's materials. Without explicit reference to *why* Wafer's text is shaped as it is, however, and what informed his editorial choices, our understanding of the particular circumstances which permeate the evolution of Wafer's text will remain incomplete. The use of Wafer's text as a specifically promotional work both for the author and the Darien Scheme, and the reciprocal shaping of the Scheme and the text towards that end, offers new insights into both areas of literary and historical study. The emphasis of Wafer's second edition on establishing his own authenticity, as demonstrated by additional 'scientific signifiers' in the account by a member of the Royal Society, suggests such stylistic adaptations were in some sense an appropriation of the contemporary language and modal form of credible representation. Given the second edition's explicit aim was to encourage an English imitation of the Darien scheme, the true significance of the perception of Wafer as a 'scientific' author by subsequent scholars appears to have been misread or underestimated.

Returning to the Dedication of the second edition, the most nakedly propagandistic of Wafer's texts, it should not be overlooked that the specific advantage that Wafer supposed would follow from an English settlement of the Isthmus of Darien is that by its proximity to Portobello and Cartagena, English settlers would have 'a ready Sale for their Slaves brought

from the Coast of *Africa*'.[92] Understanding Wafer's conception of the 'scheme' for English involvement in the Isthmus on these terms relates Wafer's text into association with the materials gathered together in service to the speculations of the South Sea Company, in what would become later known as the South Sea Bubble, following the concessions of the Spanish government in the 1713 Treaty of Utrecht which licensed British involvement in the Atlantic slave trade. The association is not without precedent. John Carswell attributes the credit for inspiring Robert Harley to pursue the South Sea Company to a letter he received on the 4th of September 1710 from William Paterson recommending the project in the national financial interest.[93] As with the Darien scheme, the effort was not to be pursued without 'the magnifying effect of propaganda' to heighten the public interest in a new national project.[94]

As Jonathan Lamb has written of the South Sea bubble, its principal proponent in the Lord High Treasurer, Robert Harley, was 'engaged in publicity, not a project of knowledge', with the aim of influencing 'public opinion in favour of national adventure. He was no more certain of acquiring wealth for Britain by expanding its interests westward than were the buccaneers who crossed the Darien Isthmus looking for Spanish treasure.'[95] The changes between the editions of Wafer's account more clearly align his text with the body of materials that were engaged in the projects of the South Sea Company between 1711 and 1720, with the Darien scheme acting as uncited precursor. Nothing came of Wafer's proposed English settlement at Darien, and he died shortly after publication, leaving the first and second editions to his work in the public record.

Should Wafer therefore be considered a fabricator or charlatan? This not an entirely easy question to answer. As with so many travel accounts which were once considered 'legitimate' in their day but have since been 'unmasked' or implied to be 'fake', to endure as a successful imitation of an authentic voyage for any length of time marks a text outside the ordinary bounds of fiction.[96] There is clearly a difference between an account that has been wholly fabricated, and one which has been adjusted to meet contemporary literary expectation and edited for publication. William Dampier's voyages are in this latter category. Whether one

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[92] Lionel Wafer, 'Dedication', *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America* (1704).
[93] 'Paterson to Harley 4.9. 1710: HMC Portland iv 583-4', as referenced in John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble* (London: The Cresset Press, 1961), p. 53.
[94] John Carswell, *The South Sea Bubble*, p. 55.
[95] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 56.
[96] Percy G. Adams *Travelers and Travel Liars 1660-1800* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. 131.

considers Dampier or Wafer as 'fabricators' depends on the reader's toleration of the necessity of such nuances, and the value of a work's relative truth 'when rhetorical or practical considerations argued powerfully for their inclusion'.[97] At least in Lionel Wafer's case, we have a manuscript account, the details of the 'secret report' of his knowledge of the Isthmus made to the agents of the Company of Scotland, and the two printed editions of his account to judge the evolution of his recorded experience. As Philip Edwards noted, it should not undermine Wafer's 'trustworthiness' to note how much of Wafer's account of his time on the Isthmus 'reads like fiction'.[98] Yet at the same time, an appreciation of the imaginative potential of Wafer's text outside the usual analysis of its 'scientific' properties is essential to understand its influence on the conception of the Darien Scheme.

In his typical style, John Prebble describes how Wafer's manuscript journal transported the Company of Scotland's Directors far from their headquarters in Milne Square: 'Here they could read of Indian kings who wore gold in their nostrils as casually as Scots gentlemen wore lace at their cuffs. Here were descriptions of valleys, rivers, and harbours beyond their imagination. They could turn the pages of a journal kept by lantern-light in the cabin of a buccaneer ship, while rare and beautiful moths danced about its glass.'[99] What should be clear from this chapter, and, going forward to the materials explicitly deployed to promote the Company of Scotland and the Darien Scheme in the following chapters, is how much of Wafer's account which transported the Company Directors to the South Seas, was in fact a constructed reality that had little resemblance to the truth. As Michael Seidel wrote of *Robinson Crusoe*, 'truth is not the record of what happened merely, but the believability of the mode of writing that conveys it'.[100]

[97] Robert Mayer, *History and the Early English Novel*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), p. 35
[98] Philip Edwards, *The Story of the Voyage*, p. 33.
[99] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), pp. 73-74, 78.
[100] Michael Seidel, *Robinson Crusoe: Island Myths and The Novel*, (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), p. 14.

Chapter Seven: Boardroom Ballads - the Poetics of the Early Company of Scotland

> It would be worse than useless that we should tell over again a tale which has been told so often and so well as that of the Darien Expedition. It was, as everybody knows, a project to colonise the Isthmus of Darien, and to establish a carrying trade over it from the eastern to the western world. Undertaken by Scotland with resources altogether inadequate, it failed miserably, and involved the whole country in ruin. The circumstances which accompanied this great national miscarriage are also very familiar to us all; the passion with which the scheme was prosecuted in Scotland after the pride of the nation was roused by the jealous opposition of the English: the sailing of the expedition from Leith, and the tears and 'vain prayers' which followed it: the joy and sunshine of the voyage, the misery and disappointment of the landing: the terrible effects of a rainy season in the tropics, for which no adequate preparation had been made: the unsuitable cargoes and unwholesome stores: the hostility of the Spaniards and of the English in the West Indies: the unchristian wrangling of the Presbyterian parsons: how the sad short period of this sojourn in the country was spent by the miserable colonists in intestine broils and external warfare, in dying by pestilence, starvation, grief, and the sword: and how those who had dug the last graves for their comrades, crawled feebly to the half-rotten ships, and found their way back by a circuitous route to their dishonoured and impoverished country […]. *Edinburgh Review*, January 1862.[1]

In the previous chapter, in discussing the many versions of Lionel Wafer's *A New Voyage and Description of the Isthmus of America*, it was necessary to include in my analysis how the collapse of the Darien Scheme affected the second edition of Wafer's account from 1704. As the most openly promotional of his accounts, the second edition highlights the features of Wafer's account from its earliest iterations which were intended to emphasise his personal credibility and authority to inform any project of colonial enterprise on the Isthmus of Darien. Wafer's navigation of contemporary events, including the collapse of the scheme, as expressed in his manuscript, and his printed and personal testimony, are of undoubted interest to the consequences of the Darien Scheme. However, it is not my intention to 'tell over again a tale […] told so often and so well' in discussing the Darien Scheme and its promotion in Scotland. This chapter will instead focus on events and literary works prior to the collapse of the Darien Scheme, and the publishing and distribution of materials such as ballads, poems, pamphlets, public letters, and sermons, materials that Edinburgh was noted as being so 'unusually comprehensive' in producing.[2] In so doing, this chapter will analyse how materials

[1] *Edinburgh Review*, January 1862, No. CCXXXIII, p. 3-4.
[2] R. A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity: Illiteracy and Society in Scotland and Northern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), p. 47.

related to the Company of Scotland prepared the imaginative ground for what would later become known as 'the Darien Scheme', before Darien was even known to be the potential site of development.

Poetry and balladry were a common vernacular in early modern Scotland for expressions of protest and political populism.[3] Particular attention will be paid to the features of Scottish colonial rhetoric that emerged around the Company which can be evidenced to have their origin in earlier discourses on travel writing and the creative techniques deployed in the framing of overseas plantations. From the time between the Company's founding, and the first wave of ships departing for they-knew-not-where, the Company of Scotland was effective in conflating the nation's interests with the Company's and in raising money, materials, and manpower for the Company's goals. The early promotional materials published in this time-period were highly successful at evoking a generic rhetoric of Scottish imperialism, both before and immediately after Darien was known as the intended location: 'The reason why I came to the resolution of going to America', wrote James Byres, a survivor of the second settlement at Darien, 'was truly, Because all the accounts I heard of the Colony were most favourable and told With a great deale of confidence'.[4] If, as Insh has said, the Company of Scotland has its origins in the 'calculated and carefully-controlled evolution' of contemporary forces and events,[5] no less attention should be paid to the carefully cultivated 'romantic interest' in Scottish colonial enterprise.[6] As Pittock wrote of the 'Stuart myth' and Jacobitism, 'the images and beliefs they nourished are not, even now, without continuing power'.[7] The clear implication of the build-up of expectations around the Company and the prospective colony of 'New Caledonia' is that Scottish colonialism had to be imagined before it could be attempted, let alone succeed. This chapter will therefore focus on specific poetic and ballad materials that anticipated and celebrated the Darien scheme in the 1690s. As Alexander Pope said of his fellow investors in the calamitous South Sea Company: 'The thirst for gain was their crime, that thirst continued became their punishment and ruin. […] They have dreamed out their dream, and awakening have found nothing in

[3] Christopher A. Whatley, 'Sound and Song in the Ritual of Popular Protest: Continuity and the Glasgow "Nob Songs" of 1825', *The Ballad in Scottish History*, Ed. Edward J. Cowan (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p. 142.
[4] Sp Coll Spencer 66: James Byres, 'A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Rotterdam; Giving an account of the Scots affairs in Darien'.
[5] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, Historical Association (Great Britain) General Series (Lonson: Staples Press Ltd, 1947), p. 7.
[6] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson & Co, 1922), p. 4-5.
[7] Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland: The Stuart Myth and the Scottish Identity, 1638 to the Present* (London and New York: Routledge, 1991), p. 9.

their hands'.[8] Walter Herries favoured a different phrase for the progenitors of the Darien Scheme: 'quem deus vult perdere, dementat prius' or, 'those whom the gods would destroy, they first make insane.'[9]

Upon the Undertaking

In compiling his brief history of the Darien Scheme in 1947, George Pratt Insh wrote that at the end of the seventeenth-century, the native Scottish impulse towards foreign trade was 'much stronger than has hitherto been suspected'.[10] Insh draws this conclusion partly from a political timeline of events. In 1681 the committee of Scottish merchants met with the Committee of Trade, presided over by the Duke of York, with the general recommendation to erect a Scottish plantation somewhere in America. The 1691 Convention of Royal Burghs saw Glasgow merchants represent the importance of a Scottish colony to their business interests. The 1693 Agenda of the Committee of Trade of the Scottish Estates 'noted that a foreign plantation be settled after the matter is considered by His Majesties High Commissioner […]'. That same year of 1693 also saw the passage of the 'Act for Encouraging of Forraign Trade' through the Scottish Parliament to the effect of granting letters of patent with large but vague privileges under the great seal to companies formed to trade around the world.[11] Thus 'The Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies' was created by an Act of Parliament in 1695. While the Company has since become synonymous with the attempt to settle a colony on the Isthmus of Darien, it is important to stress the open prospects of the Company at its founding. Trade with Africa, rather than the Indies or the Isthmus, is described by Insh as the most 'precisely defined objective' for the Scottish trading and political interests that led to the Company's founding, and reference to the Company as 'our African Company' is common in contemporary documents.[12] The creative literature surrounding the 'native Scottish impulse' for foreign trade towards the close of the seventeenth-century was far from defined in its objectives, however, and instead articulates a more global conception of Scottish trading ambitions.

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[8] Alexander Pope, 'Pope to Atterbury, Sept 23, 1720', *The Correspondence of Alexander Pope*, Ed. George Sherburn, Vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956), pp. 53-54.
[9] Walter Herries, 'Dedication', *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien: Including an Answer to the Defence of the Scots Settlement there* (1700).
[10] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 9.
[11] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 8
[12] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 9. For references to 'Our African Company' see Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, pp. 5, 17, 22. The final example given by Insh is the 'Act concerning the Payment of the Sums out of the Equivalent to the African Company' from the last session of the Scottish Parliament.

One such creative outlet was the anonymously published *Poem upon the Undertaking of the Royal Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies* (Edinburgh: James Wardlaw, 1697). By 1697 the Company had closed their subscription books in Edinburgh and were primarily assembling supplies, materials, and volunteers for the first wave of ships to depart the following year. *Poem upon the Undertaking*, however, makes no mention of the Isthmus of Darien, but instead reflects on the ancient history of 'Great Britain' and 'Caledonia', focusing on its pre-imperial contact with the Romans, to anticipate the imagined potential of a prospective 'New Caledonia':

> Long lay Great Britain in the Ocean Armes,
> Naked, Unseen, Undrest, & void of Charmes,
> Unknown to Others, scarce to her self well known,
> Content with half of what was then her own,
> Rich only in her Native Innocence,
> When other nations brought their Riches hence, […}.
> *Poem upon the Undertaking* (1697).[13]

The description of ancient Britain as 'Undrest, & void of Charms' is a creative image of the past reminiscent of Theodor de Bry's apposition of the Algonquin native American of Virginia and ancient Pict in his *America*, to draw similarities between the savage state of the native Americans and ancient 'native Britons'. The implication of de Bry's parallel, according to Campbell, is to contrast the state of colonists and colonised with the advantages of civilisation, with the Pict representing the 'childhood of modern Britain'.[14] Civilisation is portrayed as a cultural maturing process rather than an implicit birth right or trait as, by implication, the native of de Bry's *America* is held to be capable of a similar potential as the Ancient Briton in advancement. Crucially, the Picts were outside 'Romanised' Briton, and in other works contemporary to the *Poem upon the Undertaking*, featured as but one of the many defeated enemies in Scottish history.[15] The Pict from this perspective was a conquered race, distinct from the modern Scot. However, the affinity between de Bry's depiction of the 'Pictish' nature of ancient 'Britons' and Native Americans, and the *Poem upon the*

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[13] Anon, *A Poem upon the Undertaking of the Royal Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies* (Edinburgh: James Wardlaw, 1697), p. 3.
[14] Mary B. Campbell, *Wonder & Science: Imagining Worlds in Early Modern Europe* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1990), pp. 63-65.
[15] Sp Coll Spencer f52: *Caledonia Triumphans: A Panegyrick to the King* (Edinburgh, Heirs to Andrew Anderson, 1699).

Undertaking's description of the 'undrest' state of Great Britain prior to contact with imperialist powers offers an interesting commentary on how colonial enterprises were being advanced in seventeenth-century Scotland. As part of the period's general argument to a right of property overseas by plantation, cultivation, and improvement, European claims to legitimacy in the New World were often justified on the grounds of 'establishing civility in the wilderness'.[16] Landscapes with untilled fields, or ungathered fruits were seen to lack 'civilised markers', and vindicated the intrusion of Europeans, without whose intervention and 'ordering', the land would be left, in the words of McLeod, 'undressed' and in 'chaos'.[17] In early seventeenth-century Scotland, this had led to comparisons being made between the 'wild and savage Irish of the English dominion' and the 'Hebrediani' of the Scottish Islands, as 'enemies also to tillage' who spend their days 'in hunting and idleness after the manner of beasts'.[18] *Poem upon the Undertaking* reverses this colonial dynamic, positioning the point of contact from the 'colonised' party's perspective. Britain is described as being 'Unknown to Others, scarce to her self well known', with its 'discovery' by the Phoenicians, Carthaginians, and Romans a point of self-discovery through contact with the 'known' or 'civilised' world. The poet explicitly identifies 'Britain' as defined by contact with expansionist imperial powers, and the people of 'Albion' as a colonised people. The condescending appellation of Edenic innocence had once been applied to Britain too, and indirectly justifies a similar contact being attempted at the behest of the 'Royal Company of Scotland' in trading with Africa and the Indies.

The thrust of the *Poem upon the Undertaking* turns on two differing visions of colonial enterprise which the 'Undertaking' of the Company of Scotland might follow, presented through the framework of mythic British history. On the one hand lies the 'imperial precedent' of the Roman conquest of Britain,[19] which the *Poem upon the Undertaking* sees as having initiated the 'old disease' of oppression and tyranny, which had afflicted the island of 'Albion' since its invasion.[20] To highlight the militancy of this precedent, the poem aligns it with the worship of Mars. On the other hand, a trading relationship with the world illustrated by the supposed contact of ancient Britain with the seafaring Phoenicians and Carthaginians,

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[16]Michael J. Braddick, 'Civility and Authority', *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, Eds. David Armitage & Michael J. Braddick (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 123.
[17] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature 1580-1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 93-94.
[18] Robert Pont (1524-1606), as quoted in Michael J. Braddick, 'Civility and Authority', p. 121-22.
[19] Roger A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brute: Politics, History and National Myth in Sixteenth-Century Britain', *Scotland and England 1286-1815*, Ed. Roger A. Mason (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1987), p. 69.
[20] Anon, *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, p. 5.

who are embodied by the worship of Neptune. The followers of Neptune were 'loaded with Wealth from ev're Shoar', while the 'Warlik *Romans*' attempted to prevent the worship of other altars:

> But *Mars* delights to keep his People poor
> For poverty does make all Mankind brave.
> Few Value Life, who no Convenience have,
> These from their birth were alwayse Rival Gods,
> *Neptune* and *Mars* were evermore at odds.
> These *Mars* prefers, wise *Neptune* still neglects,
> As *Albion* now does find by sad effects.
> *Poem upon the Undertaking* (1697).[21]

Scotland's martial history has been a theme of obstruction to colonial enterprise in the previous chapters, with the promoters of Nova Scotia and East New Jersey alike having to accommodate their message either to rival the recruiting effort of an ongoing war or incorporate the circumstances of recent martial defeats. *Poem upon the Undertaking* suggests that the cause of poverty in Scotland, a recurrent topic in print in 1690s Scotland, is the constriction of other economies of honour through a focus on war. The poet, writing in 1697, might be seeking to address the Scottish officers left unemployed by the Peace of Ryswick (1697) and the subsequent reduction in the Scottish regiments, with nine Scots-Dutch companies disbanded in the winter of 1697-98 alone. According to Insh, 'the adventurous possibilities' of what would become the Darien scheme was an appealing alternative to 'civil life' among this class of unemployed soldiery.[22]

To recalibrate the future potential of Scotland through the 'undertaking', the poem appeals to an imagined first colonial contact with Carthaginian traders who initiated a maritime trade with the Ancient Britons of 'Albion' for their stock of tin, and which superseded the predations of the Roman Empire:

> Ah! May they for the future wiser be,
> And throw no more away their Trade by Sea.
> When *Neptune* first did to this Isle resort

[21] *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, p. 4.
[22] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 11.

> Pleas'd with Sire, he placed there his Court, […].
> *Poem upon the Undertaking* (1697).[23]

The history of the Carthaginian voyages had already complicated the national narratives of exploration since the voyages of 'Hanno the Navigator' of Carthage down the West Coast of Africa were published in Basel in 1533.[24] 'Hanno's navigation, just like other navigations which took place in Antiquity,' writes Monique Mund-Dopchie, 'was involved in the controversy that the colonisation of America and of the African coast had aroused. For, if the admiral had actually accomplished the circumnavigation of Africa, then the Portuguese could no longer claim their title of occupant.' Similarly, if Hanno had also reached the Caribbean Sea as was in places alleged, 'the Spaniards, in their turn, would be deprived of their title by occupancy'.[25] The Carthaginian voyages uncovered in the sixteenth century demonstrate the centrality of texts and print to the imagining of colonisation and the imagining of the nation by expanding the history of seagoing exploration beyond the frame of reference which had accommodated the pursuits of Portugal and Spain. As Colin Kidd has argued, the culture of early modern Europe 'was fundamentally text driven' in its understandings of the relations and distinctions of peoples and nations.[26] Publication of the voyages was to the advantage of the newer claims of England and the Dutch to the New World, who therefore featured them with greater prominence in compilations of travel accounts such as Purchas's *Hakluytus Posthumus* (1625).[27] The function of mythos to Scottish national consciousness has already drawn comment from other quarters.[28] In this instance, utilising the voyages of the Carthaginians to go beyond 'Roman Britain' to an imagined 'Albion' appeals to a point of national origin outside the usual readings of 'British' and 'Scottish' history which defined the historically antagonistic relationship between the Scots and the English.[29] Instead, *Poem upon the Undertaking* uses mythic history to explore and explain the deviation between the histories of England and Scotland in maritime ventures, in order to correct what they see as a mistake.

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[23] *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, p. 5.
[24] Monique Mund-Dopchie, 'Different Readings of Hanno's Voyage from the Renaissance to the Seventeenth-century: From Pure Erudition to Ideological Debate', *Travel Fact and Travel Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*, Ed. Zweder Von Martels (Leiden, New York & Koln: E. J. Brill, 1994), p. 111.
[25] Monique Mund-Dopchie, 'Different Readings of Hanno's Voyage', p. 117-18.
[26] Colin Kidd, *British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 10-11.
[27] Monique Mund-Dopchie, 'Different Readings of Hanno's Voyage', p. 112.
[28] Roger A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brute', p. 60.
[29] Roger A. Mason, 'Scotching the Brute', pp. 63, 68.

The *Undertaking* describes 'Albions two daughters, […] of Equal Beautie, twins by birth' dividing the lands of Albion equally between themselves. The elder took the lands to the South, and the younger, called 'Caledonia', those of the North. Although there might be some implicit deference to the eldest child, the *Poem Upon the Undertaking*'s essential set up of England and Scotland as twin-sisters, of equal bounds and loveliness, distinct and yet each mirroring the other, is a striking one. While acknowledging a common point of origin through Albion, and the natural pairing of twins implying a unity of sorts, the emphasis of equality in the division between the two sisters affirms the contemporary circumstances of England and Scotland being the only truly sovereign states within the composite monarchy of the British Isles. The two sisters, though twins, can each act apart from the other. A similar idea was attempted by Daniel Defoe in his *Fourth Essay*, when he compared the states of Scotland and England as those of 'two nations […] tyed together in all the foundation-parts' in the manner of conjoined twins, yet 'divided in their upper parts,' having 'two constitutions, two digestures, two wills, and too much opposite inclination'.[30] Defoe's point was to illustrate the mutual self-interest between such twins, and between England and Scotland, as well as the folly of animosity between them, as an attack from one on the other would be the same as self-harm. The division of wills and inclination is a lamentable source of conflict, however, implying a need for unity suitable for Defoe's purpose in promoting the Union of parliaments.[31] The poet of the *Undertaking* instead plays with contemporary contentions on Scottish and British identities by affirming a distinction between mirroring nation states, empowering both to found rival trading companies, but which could also acknowledge a unified heritage as daughters of 'Albion'.

Although courted by Neptune, the embodiment of overseas trade, the poet's 'Caledonia' prefers to be mistress of Mars, sacrificing her children to wars foreign and domestic, whom 'starving honour got / No Land but boasts the *Tomb* of some great SCOT'.[32] By contrast, had these youths been 'in Trade imploy'd' the poet assures the reader that they would have

[30] Defoe, *Fourth Essay*, 43, as quoted in Clare Jackson, 'Conceptions of Nationhood in the Anglo-Scottish Union Debates of 1707', *The Union of 1707: New Dimensions*, Eds. Stewart J. Brown and Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 75.
[31] Whatley has argued that the potential for a disparate foreign policy between Scotland and England 'forced England to look beyond regal union and towards an incorporating union' in: Whatley, Christopher A. *'Bought and Sold for English Gold'?: Explaining the Union of 1707* (Dundee: The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1994), p. 10-11.
[32] Anon, *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, p. 5.

brought in riches with every tide, regardless of the parlous state of Scottish agriculture and famines in the 1690s that motivated so much contemporary migration:[33]

> For Liberal *Neptune*, did present her store
> Of Fishfull Harbours round about her Shoar
> […]
> Trade needs no fertile Acres for support,
> Where ever Freedom lives, it makes its Court,
> And only craves a safe and open Port.[34]

Neglect of her seas and fisheries is described as the root of 'Caledonia's' mistaken dismissal of Neptune and thence trade, undercutting Scotland's ability to engage in maritime expeditions. While fishing provided a livelihood, in the words of Insh, it also 'furnished a splendid training in seamanship' and navigation, necessitated complementary skills among shipwrights and suppliers, and encouraged exploration to meet domestic and continental demands.[35] The significance of Scotland's domestic industries to Scotland's colonial prospects is acknowledged in contemporary works other than *Poem upon the Undertaking*.[36] The author of *A Serious Advice to the African and Indian Company* (Edinburgh, 1700) strenuously argued that through developing such home industries, Scots could 'acquire an *India* at our Door […] and an certain method for increase of *Shipping* and *Seamen*, […] by which it must rise to *Riches* and *Strength*, if ever it rise'.[37] The Company and its supporters in the Scottish Parliament evidently had little success in addressing these problems prior to the 'noble undertaking', and it was not without cause that Scotland was one of the last Northern European countries to establish a joint-stock trading company at the end of the seventeenth-century. Other scholars have noted how England's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century engagement with the sea through state-sponsored 'privateering and outposts' developed over time into a versatile navy and merchant fleet which enabled ready seaborne colonial

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[33] Patrick Fitzgerald, 'Scottish Migration to Ireland in the Seventeenth-century', *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Eds. Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 29.
[34] *Poem upon the Undertaking* (Edinburgh: James Wardlaw, 1697), p. 6.
[35] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, pp. 17-19.
For examples of discussion of the development of the English fisheries earlier in the century, see Charles Webster, *The Great Instauration: Science, Medicine and Reform 1626-1660* (London: Duckworth & Co. Ltd, 1975), p. 456.
[36] William Paterson, 'Proposals of A Council of Trade', *The Writings of William Paterson; Founder of the Bank of England*, Ed. Saxe Bannister (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), p. 42.
[37] Sp Coll Spencer 18: *A Serious Advice to the African and Indian Company* (Edinburgh, 1700), pp. 9, 12.

expansion.[38] The Scottish shipyards by comparison were so underdeveloped by the late seventeenth-century that they suffered when a glut of ships were taken as prizes from the Dutch by Scottish privateers, during the third Anglo-Dutch war (1672-74). Those over 200 tons were too large and 'bulky' for the size of Scottish ports and trading needs. Most of the ships seized, however, were under 200 tons and were all too readily absorbed into the Scottish marine, and thus responsible, according to Graham, 'for stifling the indigenous shipbuilding industry'.[39] European expansion overseas did not occur for its own sake, but as part of 'an acquisitive and predatory drive' for commodities which required and developed complementary economies and colonies to enact.[40] As acknowledged in *Serious Advice to the African and Indian Company* amidst the unfurling disaster at Darien, 'an *American* Collony,' and 'an AFRICAN and INDIAN trade', would only be possible following a drastic improvement in 'the Nationall Stock' due to an active enhancement of Scotland's fisheries and manufactories.[41] Without the development of complementary economies of industry in Scotland, no prospective Scottish colonial enterprise solely reliant on its contemporary domestic resources was likely to succeed.

The comparable maritime trading strength of England, the elder sister in *Poem Upon the Undertaking*, is shown in the poem's commenting on its merchant class, 'True Sons of *Neptune*' from whose example Scots might take a lesson:

> There lives a sort of Merchant might become
> The wisest Council Board in Christendome. […]
> True Sons of *Neptune*, who have wonders done.
> And think of all the World as one great Town. […]
> In this *great school*, some *Scots-men* now are bred,
> And there find out the Misteries [sic] of Trade.
> *Poem Upon the Undertaking* (1697).[42]

The ballad could be referring to the initial 'Patersonian' group of merchant investors made up of Scots, English, Jewish, and Huguenot merchants who first conceived of the Company of

[38] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature*, p. 20. For further discussion of the relation of trade, merchant fleets, and empire, see David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 143.
[39] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), p. 54.
[40] Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime Enterprise and the Genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p. 5.
[41] Sp Coll Spencer 18, Anon, *A Serious Advice to the African and Indian Company* (Edinburgh, 1700), p. 10.
[42] Anon, *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, pp. 7-8.

Scotland, and first had their headquarters in London. These 'worthies', William Paterson excepted, are not named by the poet, who instead affirms that 'they will survive in Fame'. In a very adroit counter, the poet then moves to observe however that '*England* Records their Names in Parliament'. The English Parliament had proposed impeaching the Company of Scotland's Directors in December 1695, at the behest of the English East India Company, who sought to block a potential rival to its Indian monopoly. While the interventions of the English parliament would prove useful to the Company in stirring righteous indignation and investor interest in Scotland at the attack upon 'Our Company' by Scotland's sister Parliament, *Poem Upon the Undertaking* considered English objections to the Company as acting, not against Scotland, but against 'Britain':

> These Neighbours which so hate our *British Isle*,
> They seek our Ruine, at our Losses smile.
> […] Halte, looke about you, *English* Men, she cryes,
> The *Scots* will Trade, *Scotland* is growing Wise.
> […] As if that *Scotland*'s ruin they design'd,
> As if the Lands were not together joyn'd;
> When joyn'd they be, by Power and Nature to,
> So that th'ones fall, the other must undo:
> Let Trade increase, no matter where's its Seat
> *Poem upon the Undertaking* (1697).[43]

As well as anticipating Defoe's figurative 'joining' of Scotland and England in mutual self-interest, the poet ascribes a positive 'British' identity to the Company, extending the benefits of a developing trade in Scotland to the whole of the British Isles. From that position, and as an advocate of 'Free-trade', the work attacks the mercantilist protectionism of 'national' trading monopolies. Scotland was seen contemporaneously as a potential haven from the restriction of free trade in England, despite the ready acknowledgement throughout the *Poem Upon the Undertaking* that Scotland was underdeveloped in trade-craft. What skills in the 'mysteries' of commerce their merchants had, they had learnt in London and were prepared to share and grow in Scotland to the benefit of the whole of Britain.

Poem upon the Undertaking appears to precede the alignment of the Company of Scotland with a purely Scottish national interest which characterises later works and critical

[43] Anon, *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, p. 10.

commentary, taking a more internationalist than nationalist attitude. In *Poem upon the Undertaking*, this finds further expression in its high praise for the talents of Jewish people as merchants who act without alignment to a single nation-state:

> The *Jews* where ever born, are Merchants all,
> What's Art in Us, in them seems Natural.
> We must to Prentice, e'r we learn to Trade,
> They from their infancy are Merchants bred.
> […] Their Countrey lost, the World's all their own,
> Where e'r they live, they seem to be at Home.
> […] Trade Navigations spur, dispersed *Jews*,
> Indeed teach other Nations how to use, […].
> *Poem upon the Undertaking* (1697).[44]

While the poet of the *Undertaking* then indulges in the casual bigotry of contemporary assumptions concerning Jewish mercantile practices, it is nevertheless fascinating to see an advocate of the Scottish Company admiring the internationalism of the Jewish people. The lack of nationalist sentiment, and ruling government is implicitly linked to their perceived success as entrepreneurs and travellers. There is also a sense of irony when the poet brings their thoughts 'to *Scotland* back again', and the accelerating effect that English obstruction of the London Directors of the Company had upon support for the Company in Scotland:

> Had not the *English* Votes, and Noisie Fears,
> Awak'd the Land, and open'd all their Ears,
> Thus as one Man the Nation had combin'd,
> And speedily a mighty Stock is joyn'd:
> A Stock so large, a Stock so very great,
> As must infallibly the Work compleat;
> *Poem upon the Undertaking* (1697).[45]

With the withdrawal of English interests, the Company had been saved from ruin by a more familiar narrative of grievance, as opposition from the English 'Awak'd the Land' to their purpose. From this newly unified position, the poet then turns to the intended trajectory of the

[44] Anon, *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, p. 12-13.
[45] Anon, *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, p. 14.

'undertaking'. Although no location is named, the poet is keen to stress that the Company 'need not Trade in Paths, were Trade before, / Of undiscovered Trade, the World has store':[46]

> […] where ruggest Winter never yet was seen,
> Nor least defect in everlasting Green.
> Where constant Course of equal Night and Day,
> Gives an Eternal Spring without decay.
> *Poem upon the Undertaking* (1697).[47]

While the above might lead the knowledgeable reader to infer lands around the equator, it is unlikely the Isthmus of Darien could be said to be 'undiscovered' or unpossessed, considering its history. Instead, as late as 1697, there was still a plurality of options available to the Company, with few limitations to the projected possibilities:

> Thus free from Guilt, happy in being Wild
> On forme such shoar from all preluctancy,
> *This Company designs a Colony*.
> To which all Mankind freely may resort,
> And find quick justice in an open Port.
> […] There every Man may choose a pleasant seat,
> Which *poor Men* will make Rich, & *Rich Men* Great.
> Black Slaves like bussie Bees will plant them Canes
> Have Juice more sweet then honey in their *Veins*
> Which boil'd to Sugar, brings in constant gains.
> They'l raise them *Cotton, Ginger, Indigo*.
> *Luscious, Potatoes*, and the rich *Coco*.
> *Poem upon the Undertaking* (1697).[48]

The use of slave labour was a reality in every contemporary colony in the South Seas or Caribbean and would undoubtedly have taken place in 'New-Caledonia' had it survived long enough to plant sugar canes. The use of slaves is clearly suggested in contemporary reflections on the fledgling colony's potential in 1699, and in one case proposed as a means

[46] Anon, *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, p. 15.
[47] Anon, *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, p. 15.
[48] Anon, *A Poem upon the Undertaking*, p. 16.

to salvage the scheme through the support of New York merchants in 1700.[49] Sugar was at the heart of seventeenth-century Atlantic trade, and had been a feature of Scottish industry and investment since 1663 when John Browne was granted a licence by Charles II to establish the first of four sugar refineries that were set up in Scotland between 1667 and 1700.[50] The *Poem upon the Undertaking*'s reference to the potential involvement of the Company of Scotland in the slave trade and sugar industry would have been read as an indication of the viability of the project through a familiar means, and one which had proven 'consistent' in its profitability to domestic Scottish industries.[51] The open inclusion of slavery in the prospective vision of 'New Caledonia in materials' from 1697, however, is nevertheless a departure from earlier Scottish colonial efforts on the part of the Company of Scotland. William Alexander, in *An Encouragement to Colonies* (1624), had condemned the slave trade endemic to the Spanish Indies as 'an unnatural merchandise', not to be considered in his ideal of plantation.[52] When Pitlochie advanced the fruitfulness of the land and its potential, the emphasis was always on the rewards coming from one's own labour rather than the misery of others. By contrast, the *Poem Upon the Undertaking* displaces the effort and struggle to the work of 'Black slaves like bussie Bees'.

The *Poem upon the Undertaking* reflects many of the necessary developments that had taken place in Scottish colonial rhetoric in the decades that preceded the inception of the Company of Scotland. It provides a rhetorical and imaginary point of accessibility to colonialism and maritime trade for Scotland by a reimagining of British history. The poem acknowledges the 'British' origins of the 'Company of Scotland' and the internationalist perspective of free-trade while also reflecting the need for national investment and nationalist sentiments for the Company and its ventures to succeed. The poem's conception of a 'Scottish' plantation

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[49] Sp Coll Spencer 29: *A Letter from the Commission for the General Assembly, of the Church of Scotland […] To the Honourable Council, and Inhabitants, of the Scots Colony of Caledonia, in America* (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1699), p. 12; Ms Gen 1685/15: 'From on Board the Rising-Sun in Caledonia Bay December: 25th 1699. By Mr Shields a Presbyterian Mnr'; Ms Gen 1685/15: 'One board yr Hop of Bowon, slournness [Hope of Bo'ness] in Caledonia Bay in America, Strobe 1: 1700'; Ms Gen 1684: Darien Manuscripts, 'Letter dated New York, May 1700, signed Sam Veitch'.

[50] David Dobson, 'Seventeenth-Century Scottish Communities in the Americas', *Scottish Communities Abroad in the Early Modern Period*, Eds. Alexia Grosjean and Steve Murdoch (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005), p. 118; T. M. Devine and Philipp R. Rossner, 'Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600-1800', *Scotland and the British Empire*, Eds. John M. Mackenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), p. 37.

[51] Alison Games, 'Migration', *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, Eds. David Armitage & Michael J. Braddick (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 35; T.C. Smout, 'The Early Scottish Sugar Houses, 1660-1720', *Economic History Review*, 14/2 (1961), p. 240.

[52] William Alexander, *An Encouragement to Colonies* (Edinburgh: William Stansby, 1624), p. 7. Similarly referenced in: J.H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America, 1492-1830* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 100.

would seem to have transformed itself into an imitation of a generic European plantation of sugar-cane, cotton, and cocoa, reliable in its familiarity. The poem closes anticipating the scheme's success, and the celebration of the approaching wedding of '*Caledonia*' that will follow, without a sense of what 'New Caledonia' will be.

Trade's Release

Another work to consider is the anonymously published *Trade's Release: Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company* (169?).[53] This 'broadside ballad' was printed in columns on a single broadsheet of paper, and according to the header, was intended to be sung 'To the Tune of, *The* Turks *are all Confounded*'.[54] Broadside ballads such as *Trade's Release* were intended to 'raise a chorus' by being be read and sung aloud or placed on display in a manner quite different to a conventional work of print. As Tess Watt has noted of similar works in circulation in seventeenth-century England, 'in these oral and visual forms, it [the broadside ballad] had the potential to reach a much wider audience than its original buyers and its "literate" readers'.[55] Balladry, as a 'piece of public property', rather than an 'individual creation', was a particularly effective format for circulating and propagating opinions within a partially literate society.[56] However, *Trade's Release* typically features in scholars' commentaries on the Company, and specifically William Paterson, by providing a backdrop of irony in its hyperbolic excitement around Paterson's reputation for business in the midst, as we know now, of his involvement in an embezzlement scandal.[57] The work was one of many such works 'penned in Edinburgh in 1696 and 1697' intended 'to celebrate the "judicious" and "wise" [William] Paterson'.[58] *Trade's Release* nevertheless offers a remarkable variety of information beyond its appreciation of the famous financier as the embodiment of Solomon.[59] After lauding Paterson in opulent terms, the third verse moves on to reference the 'Act together with th' Royal Assent, / To free Trade from Taxation', which

[53] While the printed version of the ballad I have drawn upon gives the year of print as 1699, I have reason to believe from its contents that the ballad was composed at the latest in 1698, if not earlier, and Douglas Watt includes it among a catalogue of materials from between 1696 and 1697.
[54] Anon, *Trade's Release* (1699).
[55] Tess Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp. 6-7.
[56] Tess Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety*, p. 81.
[57] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 101.
Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland: Darien, Union, and the Wealth of Nations* (Edinburgh: Luath Press Limited, 2007), p. 2; Anon, *Trade's Release*.
[58] Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, p. 2.
[59] Douglas Watt, *The Price of Scotland*, p. 2.

allowed for the formation of the Company of Scotland, free from duty tax for 21 years, and with any damage done to the company to be made good at public expense.[60] From there, the poem runs through the history of the Company from its initial headquarters in London, to the growing need for further sustained support from the Scottish populace in the face of opposition. Importantly, outside a few lines describing the enrichment that comes from visiting 'the Indian-Shoar', *Trade's Release* has little to say of a planned destination.[61] *Trade's Release* was written prior to any public acknowledgement of its intended destination being the Isthmus of Darien, but in the midst of the necessary investiture of national significance to the Company's fortunes following the withdrawal of English capital. The Company's imagined potential is therefore at its most open-ended. Even the most venomous critics of the Company in the aftermath of the scheme tended to admit the projected intentions of the Company for overseas trade appeared reasonable prior to the establishment of the settlement at the Isthmus.[62] With no named settlement as a point of reference, there can only be discussion of intention; and to adapt the argument of V. S. Naipaul on Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* (1596), it is just such an indistinct frame of action and space that allows for 'the swiftly passing moment when romance could be apprehended'.[63]

As already outlined in the discussion of *Poem upon the Undertaking*, much of the initial speculation relating to the Company of Scotland revolved around its potential to circumvent the monopoly of the English East India Company. Insh evidences this assumption through depreciation of the stock value of the East India Company that was concurrent with the rapid rate of subscriptions to the Scottish Company in London at its founding. The 'London' share of the Company's subscription goal of £600,000 was £300,000, which was reached in just over two weeks upon the books being opened on the 6th of November 1695. That same month, the Company's Directors proposed to dispatch a ship from Scotland to the East Indies as soon as possible.[64] By the 3rd of December of that year, the Company's Committee of Trade reported in favour of such a proposal, and it is only after this point that the Directors decided to open the subscription books in Scotland.[65] The English parliament, acting in the interests of the East India Company, impeached twenty-three Directors of the Scottish

[60] Anon, *Trade's Release* (1699).
[61] *Trade's Release* (1699).
[62] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien*, pp. 16-17.
[63] V.S. Naipaul, *The Loss of El Dorado: A History* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1969), p. 88
[64] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 10.
[65] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 10.

Company, to the resentment of the Company's supporters in Scotland.[66] The English capital was withdrawn and, despite efforts by the Company to raise money in Hamburg and other European mercantile communities, the Scottish share of the Company's finances was raised from £300,000 to £400,000. As Insh points out, however, 'Scotland's finance' was hard pressed to 'keep pace with Scotland's financial ambitions'.[67] The Company's books were opened in Edinburgh on the 26th of February 1696, and after several months, the target was finally reached on August 3rd, 1696.[68] The elevation of the Scottish interest was concurrent to the legal denial of English interests and, from 1696, the Company was reliant on securing a greater degree of investment in Scotland than was originally planned. As seen in *Trade's Release*, these circumstances are used to frame the Company's intentions as an act of national struggle for Scotland to unite behind, making investment in the Company an act of patriotism, rather than speculation, as colourfully referenced in verses 8 and 17:

> But to carry our noble Atchievement on,
> Our Purses and Strength we must all Joyn in One,
> We must never remember the Distinction
> Of Papist, Whig, or Tory.
>
> […]
>
> Now Malice and Envy are rampant with Rage,
> To see us so frankly our Purses engage,
> Beyond Expectation; from which they presage,
> In Trade some strange Revolution:
> Since by Law to suppress Us, none well dare move,
> Gross Lyes and new Stories they dayly improve,
> As hoping by such to make our Minds rove,
> But we'll shew them a firm Resolution.
> *Trade's Release* (1699).

Considering how much Scotland had been affected by the previous decades' obsession with the 'Distinction of Papist, Whig, or Tory', it is remarkable for such a call for unity to be used in aid of a private company. As Karin Bowie has outlined, the disruptive revolutions in

[66] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 11-12.
[67] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, pp. 12-13.
[68] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, pp. 12-13.

church government 'from Episcopalian to Presbyterian in the Covenanting Revolution, back to Episcopalian at the Restoration and again to Presbyterian' at the Glorious Revolution of 1688, in tandem with the reservation of powers between Monarch and parliament that followed these upheavals, had left little foundation on which to build a 'national political consensus'.[69] Yet this appeal is in the same spirit as Paterson's appeal to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh in 1695 when first discussing the prospects of a Scottish Joint-Stock company: 'Above all, it's needful for us to make no distinction of parties in this great and noble undertaking; but of whatever nation or religion a member, if one of us, he ought to be looked upon to be of the same interest and inclination. We must not act apart in anything, but in a firm and united body, and distinct from all interest what-ever.'[70] As with the later Jacobite nationalism that 'glossed over the divisions of recent history', in the words of Murray G. H. Pittock, 'in favour of a unified picture of a martyred and oppressed nation', the Company's interests were best served by presenting a similar perspective.[71] Empire was to be the unifier of Scotland's fragmented society, achieved through the celebration of Scotland's forceful presence in the colonial theatre, and through the dual prospects of navigation and the suitability of Scotland to receive and distribute the spoils of colonialism:

> Saint-Andrew's Flag then without delay
> We'll over all the World display;
> We'll many a river, Crick and Bay
> Find out by Navigation;
> In which our selves we'll soon Invest,
> As having never been Possest,
> By any that can in the least
> Pretend Preoccupation.
> […]
> No River by Nature was ever brought forth
> From the East to the West, or the South to the North,
> More adapted to Trade than our Clyde and our Forth,
> When both shall in one be united:

[69] Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union* (Chippenham: The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 14.
[70] 'Letter to Lord Provost of Edinburgh, 9th July 1695', as referenced in Saxe Bannister, 'Biographical Introduction', *The Writings of William Paterson; Founder of the Bank of England*, Ed. Saxe Bannister, Vol. 1 (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), p. xxxix.
[71] Murray G. H. Pittock, *The Invention of Scotland*, p. 37.

> We'll make both the Indies pay Tribute to Clyde,
> From whence we'll diffuse it upon our Forth's Side.[72]
> *Trade's Release* (1699).

As well as demonstrating a remarkable appetite for empire in celebrating the prospect of raising a Scottish flag 'over all the world', *Trade's Release* creates an idea of Scottish empire that is a clear break from the previous examples of Nova Scotia or Carolina. In those instances, Scottish attempts to settle land in the new world were either advanced through the earlier explorations of English navigators or were contested by the Crowns of France and Spain. Insofar as the poet of *Trade's Release* is describing 'new' discoveries, found out 'by Navigation', the poet is describing something which Scots might claim as their own beyond contestation: 'We' will find rivers and bays to settle on, which 'having never been Possest' cannot be contested by other nations who 'Pretend Preoccupation.' While the Isthmus of Darien was far from having been 'discovered' by the Scots, the question of 'Pretend Preoccupation' by other European powers would be the point on which much of the subsequent recriminations around the scheme's collapse would turn. *Caledonia; or, The Pedlar turn'd Merchant* (1700), the meanspirited poem published in London to mock the failure of the scheme, articulated the Scots' position thus:

> Twas the very same thing since *Spain* and *Peru*
> Had abundance of what they had none;
> Could they steal it, no matter where the Mineral grew,
> *Possession* would make it their *own.*
> *Caledonia; or, The Pedlar turn'd Merchant* (1700).[73]

The *Defence of the Scots Settlement* (1699) by 'Philo-Caledon' asserted the lack of Spanish settlements at Darien, as well as the local natives' preference for the Scots' colony, as part of their justification for the right of the Scots to settle there by the principle of *Vacuum Domicilium*.[74] Irrefutable proof of these claims was asserted through the record of the

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[72] *Trade's Release* (1699).
[73] Sp Coll Spencer 31: *Caledonia; or, The Pedlar turn'd Merchant. A Tragi-Comedy, as it was Acted by His Majesty's Subjects of SCOTLAND in the King of Spain's Province of DARIEN* (London: Printed, and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster, 1700), p. 4.
[74] *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699), pp. 4, 6-7. *Vacuum Domicilium*, or *Terra Nullius*, is a legal doctrine whereby a right to ownership of land deemed undeveloped or unpeopled is granted to the first to cultivate it and permanently settle there. It was on this principle that many native peoples were dispossessed of lands by European colonists in the early modern period. *Vacuum Domicilium* was also used by the English, and in this context the Scottish, to contest Spanish claims of *Res Nullius*. *Res Nullius* is a concept in Roman law whereby ownership of land or property is determined by the earliest claimant and it features heavily in the competing claims of European powers in the early modern period to a right of possession in the New World. The lack of Spanish settlements on the Isthmus of Darien is seen to invalidate Spanish claims to have the

buccaneer expeditions across the Isthmus, including those by Dampier, Sharp, and Ringrose, who had been arrested for 'Robbery and Piracy' on their return to England, only for the charges to be dropped in recognition of the validity of their 'Commission' from the '*Darien* Princes' to wage war on Spain. This, according to the author of the *Defence of the Scots Settlement*, was clear proof that England had not previously considered Darien to be subject to Spain, but was instead to be in the sovereign possession of the Darien natives.[75] Walter Herries in his reply, *Defence of the Scots' Abdication of Darien* (1699), would take the more acerbic line that the Scots had based their colony within 'the very bosom and centre' of the three major Spanish settlements of Spanish central America: Portobello, Cartagena, and Panama, and then mounted artillery batteries.[76] Herries describes the original mandate of the Scottish Company as being to 'maintain Colonies in whatever Part or Parts of Asia, Affrica and America you pleas'd, provided these Places or Territories were not the Property of such European Princes or States, as were in Alliance or Amity with his Majesty […]'.[77] This condition is used by Herries in his *Defence* to excuse the inaction of the English to assist the fledgling Scottish colony, as the Isthmus of Darien was deemed to be Spanish territory: '[…] they would not be accessory to any act which the World might judge Felonious; and wherein they could not join without imagine themselves in an unreasonable War ….].'[78] Herries was thus dismissive of any claim to a right by the Company to settle on the Isthmus:

> […] unless by Virtue of your Presbyterian Tenet, viz, of Dominions being founded in Grace, you who are the Presumptive Elect pretend a Divine Right to the Goods of the Wicked, and so take upon you to cloath the Seven Councellors of your Colony with such another Commission, as God gave the Hebrews when they departed out of Egypt.[79]

Although callous in his choice of language, Herries strikes at the heart of the sense of presumption behind the Company's choice of Darien following an earlier rhetorical position of boundless possibilities. The Company sent settlers to Darien out of choice, not manifest destiny, regardless of the repetition in poetry of a divine hand at the helm of the Company's ships. [Have citation for later part of chapter] These recriminations flung back and forth in print, legalistic in their poise and querulous by design, are the natural consequence of the intense and acrimonious scrutiny the Company was exposed to once the location of the

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Isthmus within their 'possession'. For more details on *Res Nullius* and *Vacuum Domicilium* in British claims to overseas territories, see David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 96-97.

[75] 'Philo-Caledon', *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (Edinburgh, 1699), pp. 4-5.

[76] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien*, p. 163-64.

[77] Walter Herries, 'Dedication', *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien*.

[78] Walter Herries, 'Dedication', *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien*.

[79] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien*, p. B.

colony at Darien was known, and after the collapse of both attempted settlements. The location of the Isthmus of Darien does not naturally fit into *Trade's Release*'s projection of a new, undiscovered and uncontested site for plantation that the Company of Scotland was likely to select, as it had featured in the accounts of English buccaneers and privateers which defenders of the scheme themselves cited. Nor did the proximity of Darien to major Spanish settlements follow the caution recommended by the 'Memorial concerning the Scottish Plantation to be erected in some place in America' which came from the meeting of Scottish merchants with the 'Committee of Trade', presided over by the Duke of York, in February 1681.[80] The 'Memorial', discussing potential sites for plantation, recommended avoiding settling a Scottish colony on the Columbian Islands for fear of 'so dangerous a neighbourhood' within the reach of the 'considerable garrisons' of the Spanish in South America.[81] The Company's choice of the Isthmus fifteen years later, implies, in the words of Insh, a 'very different attitude towards Spain' 'by those responsible for the Darien Expedition'.[82] Or, perhaps, a different attitude within Scotland in the wake of the Williamite Revolution.

What the poetics of *Trade's Release* demonstrate is that it was an accepted principle in contemporary Scottish discourse around colonial endeavours, that knowledge relates to possession. As David Armitage argues, 'once Spanish claims to *dominium* on the basis of papal bulls had been refuted, it was still necessary for English [and Scottish] proponents of colonisation to provide alternative justifications for their rights to property and sovereignty in the Americas'.[83] Since the Spanish first claimed ownership of the Americas, the rival claims of typically Protestant European powers to dominion over sites in the new world had turned on arguments between knowledge and actual possession by investiture. The Darien Scheme therefore evidences Armitage's point that the 'argument from vacancy' or 'absence of ownership' (*Vacuum Domicilium* and *Terra Nullius*) formed the foundation for a Scottish as well as English understanding of imperialism in the seventeenth-century.[84] An example of this can be found very early on in the launch of the Darien scheme when the first ships arrived at the Isthmus, intending to first establish an outpost at the site of Crab Island. There they found that the Danes, forewarned of the Scots' intentions after a ship of the Company's

[80] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 8.
[81] 'Memorial of the Committee of Trade', taken from G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 125.
[82] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 125-26.
[83] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 90.
[84] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 97.

fleet paused at their port of St Thomas, had stolen a tide and planted their flag there first, leaving the Scots with little option but to move on with their plans. The presence of both parties was in defiance of Spanish pre-eminence in the region but was justified through mutual recognition of the right to possession through investiture by each party.

By asserting Scotland's right to overseas possession through first-hand knowledge and exploration, rather than its previous claims in concert with English colonial efforts, the poet of *Trade's Release* is advancing Scotland's claim to be considered (or reconsidered) on an equal footing to those of its European rivals as a nation recognised as truly 'sovereign'. Knowledge and the power that knowledge bestowed is recognised as a means by which Scotland was to reconceptualise itself to its people and the world as a European maritime trading force. For this reason, the poet of *Trade's Release* invites the reader to revisit and reimagine the landscape of Scotland 'From the East to the West' as ideally adapted to trade, to reflect this development in potential. Although the ships of the Company of Scotland would initially sail from Leith, the projection of both the East and West Indies paying 'Tribute to Clyde' before being transported to 'Forth's side', clearly shows an Atlantic orientation to its outlook, as well as a peculiar mirroring of the potential seen by Paterson and his colleagues in cutting across the Isthmus of Darien.

'But to carry our noble Atchievement on, / Our Purses and Strength we must all Joyn in One, […].'[85] As previously referenced, the withdrawal of English capital from the scheme meant that funding for the company had to come almost entirely from the Scottish population. It is fitting then that this pragmatic need for cash investment is followed by an increasing crescendo of rhetoric:

> Let vice and oppression be cloathed with shame,
> Let brave Undertakings our Breast all inflame,
> […]
> By regular steps we'll bravely advance
> Till the Trade of all Europe to us we enhaunce,
> Then adieu to the blust'ring Grandeur of France
> Or any imperious Nation.
>
> To Scotland's just and never-dying Fame

[85] *Trade's Release* (1699).

> We'll in Asia, Africa and America proclame
> Liberty! Liberty! Nay, to the shame
> Of all that went before us;
> Wherever we Plant, Trade shall be free,
> In three years time, I plainly foresee,
> GOD BLESS THE SCOTTISH-COMPANY
> Shall be the Indian-Chorus. […]
>
> The Muscovite, Tarta, Turk, and the Pope,
> The Sophi, Mogul, and Morocco, I hope,
> To the Charms of our Laws must yield and give up,
> Their absolute Sway and Dominions:
> Then the Spanish, and French, and Portuguese,
> Ventians and Dutch, and Genoese,
> And th' English themselves perhaps may please
> To alter their narrow Opinions.
> *Trade's Release* (1699).[86]

This declaration, first to 'inflame' the reader's breast with passion for the 'brave Undertaking' that will see Scotland slowly rise to the pre-eminence of France, is an exciting one. As with the Company's crest, it lays claim to 'Asia, Africa and America', and from the Mogul to the Turks, describes the controlling interests of the eastern Silk Road and Levant as ceding to the will of the Scottish Company. *Trade's Release* is describing power, and the potential of an empowered Company of Scotland to transform Scotland as a nation state, and in so doing to affect the powers of Europe which hold sway in the Americas and elsewhere. By invoking the places and figures of exoticism that will be overcome by the Company, the poet of *Trade's Release* constructs an 'imperialist worldview' of imagined geographies by which to see the world.[87] All such projected worldviews are double-facing. In describing a potential transformation in the opinions of Scotland in Europe, the poet indirectly asks the Scots, in the phrase of Burns, 'To see oursels as ithers see us',[88] and to allow the

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[86] *Trade's Release* (1699).
[87] Paul Smethurst, 'Introduction', in *Travel Writing, Form, and Empire: The Poetics and Politics of Mobility*, Eds. Julia Kuehn and Paul Smethurst (London: Routledge, 2009), pp. 1, 9.
[88] Robert Burns, 'To A Louse', in *The Complete Poetical Works of Robert Burns*, Ed. James A. Mackay (Darvel: Alloway Publishing, 1993), p. 182.

transformation of Scotland to take place in their minds, and 'Let brave Undertakings our Breast all inflame'.[89]

Once this imaginative hurdle is cleared, the poem's momentum continues with a description of the opportunities the Company of Scotland will afford to propagating the Gospel: 'But not by such Ways as attempted of Late / By Jesuits-Guile, nor vain pompous State, / Nor bloody Inquisition'.[90] This is the only verse to touch on the Scheme's potential for proselytising, and it does so as a means to contrast with the absolutist Catholic powers of Europe. This evangelical sentiment is self-contained within the verse, rather than a theme throughout the poem, although the language chosen was clearly relevant to its intended audience. *Scotland's Present Duty* (1700) by 'Philo-Caledonius', a work intended to invigorate the 'Nobility, Gentry, Ministry, and Commonality' of Scotland for the Darien scheme in the interest of 'all *Protestant* Churches' when the survival of 'New Caledonia' was in doubt, expresses itself in near exact terms to the themes of *Trade's Release* when describing the origins of the Company of Scotland:

> In this time of Quietness, wherein Truth and Peace met together, did several of our most Knowing Nobility and Gentry, encouraged by diverse Acts of Parliament, and Royal Grants, form a Design to plant a Colony in *America* considering that of all Nations in Europe bordering upon the Sea, Scotland alone had no share of Foreign Plantations, and Trade; and this would be a Means for Enriching the Nation, and Curing these two evil Diseases amongst us, of Beggary and Idleness. And all who had a Love to the propagating of the Gospel, looked upon this as a most probable and hopeful Means of Enlarging the Kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ.
> *Scotland's Present Duty* (1700).[91]

The London-based commercial interests which first conceived of the Company of Scotland were more interested in undercutting the East India Company's trading monopolies than in challenging Catholic hegemony in the Spanish Americas. The two ministers who accompanied the first expedition to Darien died during the voyage, and only one of the four sent with the second expedition ever returned to Scotland.[92] Perhaps for this reason not much has been made of the significance of the Darien scheme in increasing the dominium of Scotland, and in 'Enlarging the Kingdom' of God. However, the theme was certainly present in the scheme's promotion and throughout contemporary discussions in Scotland, and on

[89] *Trade's Release* (1699).
[90] *Trade's Release* (1699).
[91] Sp Coll Spencer 26: *Scotland's Present Duty* (1700).
[92] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, p. 243.

terms quite at odds with the inclinations of the Catholic James Stuart, then in exile in the court of Saint-Germain-en-laye.

The ballad then turns from open ended promotion, to recruitment:

> Then Sawny, and Johnny, and Jemmy, and all,
> Whose Names are Enrol'd in the Indian-Hall,
> Prepare and be ready to answer the Call
> Of our brave Sea-Commanders:
> Come follow me quickly, our Admiral is gone
> On board of Saint-Andrew, I've heard a Gun,
> You belong to the Neptun, and I to the Sun,
> We'll try who dare withstand us.
> *Trade's Release* (1699).[93]

The 'Saint-Andrew' was the pennant ship of the Company's first fleet to Darien, a 56-gun Indiamen of 350 tons, originally named the *Instauration* of Lubeck. The Company showed some awareness of the symbolic economy of their ships' names, as shown by their frequent recurrence in poems such as *Trade's Release*, *Caledonia Triumphans*, or *Golden Island*. That the original name was dropped in favour of Scotland's patron saint at once implies an investment of national identity to the Company's purpose, and evidences the Company's 'extensive publicity efforts', to use the words of Karin Bowie, to create 'a strong popular perception of the colony as a patriotic enterprise'.[94] Thus, Prebble describes the Directors of the Company toasting the loss of an 'equivocal' name for their flag ship in favour of a tutelary emblem.[95] For similar reasons no doubt, the *Union* of Amsterdam found itself renamed the *Unicorn*.[96] *Trade's Release* makes clear the significance of such shared signifiers of national identity to the Scheme's promotion, in calling up all the names 'Enrol'd in the Indian-Hall', those volunteers for the undertaking, to 'prepare and be ready' and anticipate the sound of the gun that will summon them aboard the 'Saint-Andrew'. The poem perhaps functioned in conjunction to the folio broadsheets issued by the Company in March of 1698 to declare the readiness of the fleet, and the later notices that appeared 'on the walls

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[93] *Trade's Release*.
[94] Karin Bowie, 'Publicity, Parties and Patronage: Parliamentary Management and the Ratification of the Anglo-Scottish Union', in *The Union of 1707: New Dimensions*, Eds. Stewart J. Brown and Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 79.
[95] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, p. 108.
[96] 'Unicorn: (Robert Pincarton), originally the *Saint Francis*, and re-named *Union* by James Gibson when he bought her in Amsterdam': John Prebble, 'Appendix', *The Darien Disaster*, p. 347.

of the coffee-houses in Edinburgh and Glasgow' which called upon all volunteers for the Company's voyage to assemble on the 14th of June.[97] Their signatures bound them to the cause and the voyage so now they 'belong to the Neptun' as the poet belongs 'to the Sun'. As with the earlier references to the devotion of Neptune made in the poem *Upon the Undertaking, Trade's Release*'s association of the first expedition with 'Neptune' celebrates the successful orientation of Scottish interest to overseas commerce. The poet identifying themselves as being of 'the Sun' can either refer to the Company of Scotland with its emblem of the rising sun, or anticipate the second expedition's flagship the *Rising Sun*. In either case, the overarching ambitions of the Company and the two anticipated waves of ships sent from Scotland were considered overwhelmingly powerful. Further evidence that the ballad was intended for circulation before the first expedition's departure is shown by later verses inviting compatriots to drink 'Bon-voyage to our Fleet' at their parting. The final invocations of the work are thereafter directly addressed to the supporters of the scheme who yet stayed behind in Scotland, to solidify their support for the venture and to warn them against contrary opinions:

> Since by Law to suppress Us, none well dare move,
> Gross Lyes and new Stories they dayly improve,
> As hoping by such to make our Minds rove,
> But we'll shew them a firm Resolution.
> […]
> And if any unnatural Son of a Scot,
> Has basely against Us engaged to Plot,
> May he live in Disgrace, and at last may his Lot
> Be to dance aloft in a Halter.
> […]
> Let nothing disturb Us, come let Us go on.
> And mind the Business which now we're upon;
> If JEHOVAH be for Us, tho' but he alone,
> Who is't that can annoy Us?
> *Trade's Release* (1699).[98]

[97] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 18.
[98] Anon, *Trade's Release* (1699).

Four full verses towards the close of *Trade's Release* are given over to imprecations against adversaries to the Company, some foreign, but mostly 'unnatural' fellow Scots in opposition to the Scheme. The cry of Romans 8:31, 'If god be for us, who could be against us?' has been the claim of the zealot and ideologue from time immemorial, and there is a strong sense throughout these verses of the need to both unify supporters of the scheme and to ostracize and discredit opponents. It is not by coincidence that the verses encouraging distrust towards the Company's enemies seek to undermine discordant information. The Company's opponents, failing to block the scheme with the law, are said to fall back on 'Gross Lyes and new Stories' to discomfort would-be supporters of the Company and scheme. The pre-emptive mistrust and dismissal of alternative voices takes control of the narratological authority around the Company and its actions and destabilises any prospective attempt to correct or alter the public's perceptions.

Trade's Release thus evidences some of the factors that contributed to the general distrust and disbelief among the Company's Directors and well-wishers when news first reached them of the abandonment of the first settlement at Darien. Writing to the council aboard the *Rising Sun* on the eve of the departure of the second expedition from Scotland, the Directors of the Company dismissed the rumoured collapse of the settlement, and encouraged their departure: 'We are […] advised of a story made and propagated in England, viz that the Scots have deserted their Colonie of Caledonia […]. The story is altogether Malicious and false, and contrived on purpose to discourage people to go to our Colony with provisions […].'[99] The passengers of the second expedition would thereafter have cause to regret the Directors' 'firm Resolution' on this matter.[100] 'Now that those who support it may scorn to relent,' wrote the poet of *Trade's Release* in closing, 'That such as would crush it may've Cause to repent, / That Lyes may not sully what's honestly meant, / Is the Prayer of your Poet after.'[101]

Taken together, the *Poem Upon the Undertaking* and *Trade's Release* are effective communicators of the immediate circumstances around the Company of Scotland as it gathered support and materials prior to the first expedition to Darien. The *Poem upon the Undertaking*, as the earlier work, is concerned with a reimagining of Scottish history to make the prospect of a Scottish trading empire more acceptable to the reader's imagination. *Trade's Release* is a more contemporaneous commentary on events concerning the Company and

[99] Sp Coll Spencer 66: 'To the Council on board the Rising Sun', Greenock, 22nd September, 1699.
[100] MS Gen 1685: Mr Shields, 'Letter from On Board the Rising-Sin in Caledonia Bay, Dec 25th, 1699'.
[101] Anon, *Trade's Release* (1699).

specifically the build-up to the first expedition to the Isthmus of Darien. What may seem as otherwise descriptive features of the Company of Scotland's founding in poetry also has a secondary objective in the necessary investiture of a popular national identity into the narrative framework of the Company's intended expeditions.

Both works demonstrate a strong affinity in their choice of language and allegory around trade and exploration to earlier works promoting English plantations in the new world. The evident convergence in Scottish and English conceptions of imperialism is unsurprising given the shared history of plantations in America and the Caribbean. In arguing for a distinction, however, in pursuit of a uniquely 'Scottish' plantation, *Trade's Release* proposes as a first principle that Scotland's reinvention as a maritime colonial power be based on first-hand knowledge, navigation, and possession. At the same time, *Trade's Release* recommends scepticism of alternative voices, which might spread 'Lyes' and 'new Stories' to make people's minds and resolution wander, illustrating the overarching control of information the Company desired in the furtherance of their goals. For this reason, the credibility of first-hand accounts which informed the scheme and its promotion, as well as their manipulation by the Company and its well-wishers, must also come to the forefront of discussion. '[…] since that the Stock of the Indian and African Company, is so great a part of the whole Stock of the Nation, and that so much depends upon the Success, thereof,' wrote John Holland to the Scottish Privy Council in 1696, 'it is worthy to Your Lordships Consideration (and that also of all others who Love their Countrey [sic]) whither these Mens Assertions are to be depended upon.'[102]

The Welcome News

After the first expedition from Scotland landed at Darien in November 1698, and word reached Scotland of their safe arrival in March 1699, there was a plethora of poetic materials written in celebration, including the anonymous, *An Ode Made on the Welcome News of the Safe Arrival and Kind Reception of the Scottish Collony at Darien in America* (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1699). This short ode, with its religious overtones of Providence assisting in the colonists' voyage, reflects the joy and relief felt among the Scottish populace, as well as the continued need for support and prayer: 'Now is the time for *Thanks* and *Praise*,' writes

[102] Sp Coll Spencer 24: John Holland, *A Short Discourse on the Present Temper of the Nation* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1696), p. 2.

the poet, 'When *Scotland* with joint Notes should raise / To *HEAV'N* glad *Consort* of *Harmonious Lays*.'[103] Scottish voices raised in harmony is a fitting metaphor for the unified national interest that had been awakened by the express brought from the colony by Alexander Hamilton. *An Ode Made on the Welcome News* clearly references many of the details of the Scots landing at Darien from this express, which was made public by the Company of Scotland on the 27th of March 1699.[104] Nevertheless, Providence and the assistance of the 'Divine pow'r'[105] is the key device deployed by the author of the ode to frame the circumstances of the successful crossing, and the claims of the Scottish settlers to land on the Isthmus of Darien. According to the ode, it was divine power that 'sooth'd the *Natives* savage Breasts, / And thaw'd them to *Humanity*', making them see the wisdom of the Scottish expedition:[106]

> Their *Land* they freely did Resign,
> And all the *Treasures* of their Soil,
> And frankly bear a share I' th' Toil,
> To carry on the Great Design,
> And, for their *Common Intrest* both Combine.
> *An Ode Made on the Welcome News* (1699).[107]

The March Express from the settlement describes the natives of Darien as coming aboard the Company's ships before they landed, and then inviting them to settle on the Isthmus, and later taking Commissions from the Council of the settlement. Such an ideal scenario for the Company of Scotland appears at odds with the example and argument of previous centuries, that 'ordered conditions always derived from conquest'.[108] We are led to suppose that the Isthmus of Darien was colonised by invitation and consent, through the recognition by the native peoples of their '*Common Intrest*' in 'civilisation'. As with Drake and his claims to 'Nova Albion' in the sixteenth century, however, the literary framing of the Scots settlement at Darien at the invitation of the native peoples primarily functioned as a means to

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[103] Anon, *An Ode Made on the Welcome News* (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1699), p. 1.
[104] Anon, 'An Express from the African and Indian Scots Company Fleet Landed in New Edinburgh in Caledonia 1699' (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1699).
[105] Anon, *An Ode Made on the Welcome News*, p. 1.
[106] Anon, *An Ode Made on the Welcome News*, p. 2.
[107] Anon, *An Ode Made on the Welcome News*, p. 2.
[108] Nicholas Canny, *Making Ireland British 1580-1650* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 21.

circumvent any rival claims by other European powers.[109] For all the potential of the '*Treasures*' of Darien's soil, it is against reprisals from Panama, Portobello, and Carthagena that it was truly in the '*Common Intrest*' for the Scots and natives to combine.

The ode closes with an expression of the glowing potential for Scotland given the assumed success of the Darien colony, as '*Indian Gold*' will relieve 'The Nation from its *Tempral Grand Disease* [Poverty]'.[110] Mirroring the colony's promotion in prose, there is the prospect of an end to beggars and vagabonds, as idle hands are put to work, 'T'increase our *Store*, & crown our *lasting* Joy'.[111] The 4th of November is now doubly to be celebrated in Scotland as the birthday of King William, and the day 'on which our *Darling Band* / First set their Foot on *Caledonia*'s Land'.[112] This rather neat piece of serendipity allows the author of the ode to close with patriotic flair, as the prospect of liberty afforded to 'New-Caledonia' in its founding is paired with the liberties attendant on the Glorious Revolution.

Another poem published following the announced landing of the Scots at Darien, the panegyric, *Caledonia Triumphans* (1699), addresses itself to King William in a similar fashion and on similar terms. As indicated by its title, *Caledonia Triumphans* is a panegyric to King William intended to win his support for the Company of Scotland and its machinations in Central America by admiring his martial prowess, his sovereignty over the three kingdoms of the British Isles, and his success against the French in defence of Protestantism. These laurels serve as prelude to the poem's true purpose as a sophisticated adaptation of the express confirming the landing of the settlers at Darien sent to the Company's Directors in Scotland and published by the Company at the end of March 1699. After blessing William's reign, 'O happy ORANGE-Tree, both Branch and Root, / That hath blest *Britain* with such cordial Fruit', the poet of *Caledonia Triumphans* invites the king to hear the tidings on the winds:

> From a far *Country*, joyful News we hear,
> […]
> *Fourth* of *November*, that auspicious Day,
> Your valiant *SCOTS* THEIR Colours did display

[109] Colm MacCrossan, 'Framing "Nova Albion": Marking Possession in Richard Hakluyt's *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*', *SEDERI Yearbook* 24, (2014)., pp. 50, 64-65.
[110] Anon, *An Ode Made on the Welcome News*, p. 2.
[111] Anon, *An Ode Made on the Welcome News*, p. 2.
[112] Anon, *An Ode Made on the Welcome News*, p. 2.

> Into the *Western World*, where they did meet,
> Thousands of Welcomes prostrate at their Feet.
> The Soveraign Director was their Guide,
> *Neptune* them favour'd; Earth, Seas, Winds and Tyde
> *Caledonia Triumphans* (1699).[113]

The diary of Captain Pennycook that accompanied the first dispatches to Scotland recounted twenty natives among the group that greeted the Scots landing party, rather than thousands,[114] but the poem follows the format of the express in describing the successful landing, the native peoples, and an Edenic description of the condition of the land:

> At Landing, Fertile Fields and Golden Mountains,
> Saluted them, with clear and christal Fountains;
> Roots, Flowers and Fruits, for Physick, and to eat,
> And neither pinching Colds, not scorching Heat.
> Rivers, safe Bayes, variety of Plants,
> And useful Trees which our old *Britain* wants.
> Here grows the *Nicaragua*, *Manchionell*,
> *Vannileas* also, that perfumes so well.
> Our sable night is gone, the day is won,
> The SCOTS are follo'd with the *RISING-SUN*.
> The Ev'ning crowns the Day, and what remains?
> Old *ALBANY* its antient Fame regains.
> *Caledonia Triumphans* (1699).[115]

Logging had not featured in the published express, although the listed timber aligns roughly to the Pennycook journal, indicating that both resources from the settlement informed the construction of *Caledonia Triumphans*.[116] These details are not immaterial; the complaint from members of the second expedition to the Company Directors of a lack of cleared ground despite hearing 'full accounts given of the Colonies having cut all the wood, on the neck of the [I]sthmus […]', demonstrates the prominence of felling timber in other promotional

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[113] Sp Coll Spencer f52: *Caledonia Triumphans: A Panegyrick to the King* (Edinburgh: Heirs to Andrew Anderson, 1699).
[114] MS Gen 1681: 'Pennycooks Journal', Entry for November 1st.
[115] Sp Coll Spencer f52: *Caledonia Triumphans*.
[116] MS Gen 1681: 'Pennycooks Journal', November 3rd.

accounts.[117] Regardless, having made its summation of the express, and lauded the Scots who followed 'the Rising-Sun', i.e. the Company, the poem returns to King William to celebrate his and Scotland's martial record. With close parallels to Lawder's *The Scottish Souldier* (1629),[118] *Caledonia Triumphans* runs through the martial history of Scotland from its founding with Fergus the 1st, and its noble families who found fame through their exploits in continental wars. As with the *Scottish Souldier,* these references emphasise the integrity of Scotland's borders on the one hand, and the persistent interest of its people in foreign wars abroad. *Caledonia Triumphans,* written between the Peace of Ryswick (1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701-14), was evidently intended to remind King William that the support of the Scots for his Coronation and Continental wars deserved in turn support for their own ventures abroad:

> And as our Valour flew all *Europe* round,
> So now our Trade scarce both the Poles shall bound.
> If You but own us, Mighty Sir, and then
> No Devils we fear, nor yet malicious Men.
> What humane Counter-plot can marr the thing,
> That is protected by *Great-Britains* King.
> Our Claim is just: and so we value, not
> The Brags of *Spain*, nor Thunderings of the Pope,
> Who may well threaten; Yet *Don* dare not fight,
> When he minds *DARIEN*, and old *Eighty-eight*.
> *Caledonia Triumphans* (1699).[119]

'If you but own us,' was the cry of the Company's defenders, as they sought by petition to the Crown and Parliament for an acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the Darien Colony under the Act of Parliament that had created and empowered the Company of Scotland.[120] Until it was 'owned', the colony of Darien could not claim the protection of the Crown, and while the mandate of the Company to settle colonies had been broad, it was not universal. The frequent petitions of the Company to the Crown, as recorded in poetry through the ode, *The Emblem of*

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[117] Sp Coll Spencer 66: 'Letter from Caledonia Bay, 23 Decemb 1699', p. 15.
[118] Sp Coll. BG 60-I.38: Lawder, *The Scottish Soldier* (Edinburgh: John Wreittoun, 1629).
[119] Sp Coll Spencer f52: *Caledonia Triumphans: A Panegyrick to the King*.
[120] Sp Coll Spencer 20: 'P.C.', *A Short and Impartial View of the Manner and Occasion of the Scots Colony coming away from Darien in A Letter to a Person of Quality* (1699), p. 33.

Our King, And of the Scots and English Parliaments (1700),[121] did not meet with favour. Through some political chicanery, the motion 'That our Colony of Caledonia in Darien is a legal and rightful settlement in the terms of the Act, and that Parliament will maintain and support the same' was never put before the Parliament of Scotland that met in May 1700.[122] It did not meet again until the end of October, by which time the point was moot as the settlement was then known to have been abandoned for the second and final time. The seeming lack of support from King William for the colony appeared, if not a disowning of the scheme, an abandonment of his subjects. While the King's defenders in Scotland strenuously denied this claim, it would continue to rankle in the aftermath:

> *Scotland's,* or *African-Company's* Third and last *Address* to His Majesty, Presented by the Lord *Ross*, and others.
> If all my *Suffrings* no Compassion move,
> Nor yet perswade the *Angles* Us to Love;
> Good GOD Protect us, KING and *Parliament*!
> Recoile, O SCOTLAND, View thy *Banishment*.
> *The Emblem of Our King* (1700).[123]

Caledonia Triumphans: A Panegyrick to the King could be considered the most overtly political of the ballads promoting the Company of Scotland and its settlement at Darien. The self-evident purpose of the work was to utilise the recent and exciting news of the landing at Darien by the Company to petition the Crown for support. As well as being addressed to the King, rather than the public, the broadsheet bears markers unlike other ballads in circulation, that would identify the poem as a more official document. The copy of the poem in the Spencer collection at Glasgow University is in three columns of a single broadsheet, headed by the crest of the Company of Scotland, and printed 'by the Heirs and Successors of *Andrew Anderson*, Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty'. As discussed in the earlier chapter on 'Factual Fictions', Scotland's printers operated under the supervision of the Privy Council, and with reserved rights to print under license and monopoly powers.[124] Edinburgh printers such as James Watson, or John Reid the Elder, occasionally fell foul of the law for publishing

[121] Sp Coll BG 60 – I.38: *The Emblem of Our King, and of the SCOTS and ENGLISH PARLIAMENT: A POEM* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1700).
[122] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, p. 295.
[123] Sp Coll. BG 60-I.38: Anon, *The Emblem of Our King* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1700).
[124] See p. 91.

materials against the wishes of the Scottish Privy Council.[125] The decision to publish *Caledonia Triumphans*, under the Company Crest, and 'by authority' through the 'Printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty', at that time Agnes Campbell, signifies to the reader the palatability of the Company's message to the government.[126] These signifiers of authenticity that the work bears allow for a further reading into the poem of the pressures faced by the Company and its supporters for an official acknowledgement of the colony, as well as the Company's active hand in shaping and interpreting the printed narrative of news and events from 'New Caledonia'.

Another shorter poem, written in reaction to the news from the express was *An Congratulatory Poem on the Safe Arrival of the Scots AFRICAN and INDIAN Fleet in CALEDONIA, and their kind Reception by the Natives, with an Amicable advice to all concerned* (1699). Written by an otherwise anonymous 'R. A.' this work is similarly appreciative of the role of Providence in the success of the settlers' voyage and the need for national unity, but with a far more triumphalist tone:

> Brake off Divisions then, in Unitie,
> Mongst your selves, and in Fraternitie,
> Together live, to all the Earth 'tis known
> The Thistle Buds after the Rose is blown;
> *An Congratulatory Poem* (1699).[127]

Where most scholars agree that England came late to overseas colonisation when compared to Portugal or Spain, Scotland was coming later still. The 'budding' of the thistle over the 'blown' rose, however, imagines this deficit in experience as Scotland being in the ascendancy against an England in decline. By comparison, consider the same imagery in *Caledonia Triumphans* (1699):

> The Martial *THISTLE* BUDDS, AND NO MORE WITHERS,
> The fragrant *ROSE* it's Scent again recovers.
> The *Harp* is tun'd: And valient SIR, to Thee,

[125] Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720: Print Commerce and Print Control in Early Modern Scotland* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp. 132, 142, 143.
[126] Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720*, p. 148.
[127] R. A. *An Congratulatory Poem* (1699).

> The Conquering *Lillies* bowe and humble be.
> *Caledonia Triumphans* (1699).[128]

What before had seemed a colonising effort that complimented, in Whatley's words, the equal partnership of Scotland and England 'in King William's British-led alliance as defenders of the faith against popery',[129] is slowly transforming to an assertion of the independence or supremacy of Scotland over England, and a merited wariness of potential obstruction in the future. The poet of *An Congratulatory Poem* shares the hopes of the *Ode Made on the Welcome News* and *Trade's Release*, however, that colonial trade will have a transformative effect on the nation's fortunes, and the subsequent perception of Scotland at home and abroad:

> That all the Neighbouring Nations yet may own,
> SCOTLAND deserves still Honour and Renown,
> And those who to this Traffick Propogat,
> May have their Names, in Ages Memorat
> *An Congratulatory Poem* (1699).[130]

As in the earlier examples of balladry in service to the Company, the hoped-for positive consequences of colonial trade are expected to reinvigorate Scotland's potential as a nation, and act as a catalyst for its metamorphosis on the world stage. 'R. A.', in particularly seeking that the names of those 'who to this Traffick Propogat' be preserved 'in Ages Memorat', goes further in anticipating the Company's scheme acting as a foundation for future development. As shown in earlier chapters, such 'memorials' were a vital feature in promotional materials as examples to be imitated, that others 'may be induced to follow their footsteps'.[131] The same sentiment is found in the closing paragraphs of the letter sent from the first colony's council to the Company Directors at Edinburgh as an accompaniment to the journal of their landing. Writing of the Company's designs in Darien, the project is described as:

> […] the likeliest means that ever yet presented towards the enabling our Countrymen to revive, recover, transmit to posterity, the virtue, lustre, and wonted Glory of their renowned Ancestors; and to lay a foundation of wealth, security, and greatness to our Mother Kingdom for the present and successing Ages. […]

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[128] Sp Coll Spencer f52: *Caledonia Triumphans: A Panegyrick to the King*.
[129] Christopher A. Whatley and Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 167.
[130] R. A. *An Congratulatory Poem* (1699).
[131] Robert Gordon, 'Epistle', *Encouragements for […] New Galloway* (Edinburgh: John Wreittoun, 1625), p. 3.

> [Signed] Robert Jolly, J. Montgomery, Dan. Mack, Rob. Pennicook, Rob. Pincarton, Will. Paterson.[132]

Although the letter's urgent request for further supplies from Scotland, or else the project 'will run no small risk of being inevitably lost', does not make it into the creative works around the colony at this time, the shared sense of a re-founding or renewal of the 'mother kingdom' through 'New Caledonia' by both the project's actors and its promotors is remarkable, and indicates a communal sense of dedication to the enterprise.

Poems such as *An Congratulatory Poem on the Safe Arrival*, and *An Ode Made on the Welcome News* are useful in reflecting how publicly available 'news' and information from the colony, such as the express, came to be interpreted in contemporary print. The separate articulation of the same details in each work displays different biases and outcomes. The *Ode* describes the Darien scheme more thoroughly as a work of Providence, its actors part of the 'Great Design' and manifest destiny for Scotland; 'R. A.', in deviation from the framing preferred by prominent actors in the Company such as Pennycook, asserts a more aggressively nationalist characterisation, which would prove the more popular in the subsequent public discourse.

<u>Golden Island, or the Darien Song</u>

Following the news of the first expedition's successful landing at Darien and the subsequent public euphoria over the prospects of the scheme, the Company of Scotland was not lacking for volunteers for the second expedition, which assembled to leave in August of 1699. The fleet was made up of four vessels, the *Hope*, the *Hope of Bo'ness*, the *Duke of Hamilton*, and the flagship *Rising Sun*. This latter ship, with 'her splendid lines and gilded hull', stood as a 'physical manifestation of the Company's glory' as well as its crest, to which the inspiration for the anonymous 'The Golden Island, or the *Darien Song*' (1699) by 'a Lady of Honour' is attributed.[133]

> We have another Fleet to sail.
> The Lord will Reik them fast;
> It will be wonderfull to see,

[132] 'Letter to the Company Directors, Dated 'Caledonia', 28th December, 1698', as quoted in James Samuel Barbour, *A History of William Paterson and the Darien Company* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1907), p. 83.
[133] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, p. 236.

> The *Sun rise in the West*!
> *The Golden Island* (1699).[134]

This ballad, 'in Commendation of All Concerned in that Nobble interprize of the Valiant Scots'[135] touches on similar themes to previous printed ballads and poems on the scheme, from a manifest destiny 'that ALBANIE should Thrissels spread, / O're all the *Indian Gold*' to the blessings of Neptune in calming the seas, and the direction of Providence.[136] The poet's 'dream' of the first expedition is a reimagining of the voyage and arrival, which is dismissive of any other potential location that the Company of Scotland could have gone to:

> Be sure some Angel stier'd [sic] our Helm,
> When some were faln a sleep:
> To guide us to that Noble place,
> Was promis'd us before
> […] That will Entice brave ALBANIE,
> It is ordain'd in Holy Write.
> *The Golden Island* (1699).[137]

Whereas earlier promotional ballads in the support of the Company, such as the *Poem on the Undertaking* (1697), or arguably *Trade's Release* (1699), supplied broad arguments in favour of Scottish colonialism wherever it took place, *The Golden Island* is a creative reimagining of events around the first voyage as if the colonists were always meant to go to Darien. In its own fashion, it imitates the rhetorical need for the scheme's promoters to justify landing at Darien despite the proximity of Spanish settlements once they knew where they had landed. Although *Golden Island* would not be regarded as the most significant work in promotion of the scheme, the song illustrates how, having gone to Darien, it is necessary for the public narrative around the Company and its Adventurers to have always intended to go to Darien. The hand of Providence determining the destination excuses any conflict that might arise from the Scots presence, for it removes from them the power of choice. Like the promise of Canaan to the Israelites, despite its occupation by the Canaanites, the Scots were 'ordain'd in

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[134] Anon, *The Golden or the Darien Song In Commendation of All Concerned in that Noble Enterprize of the Valiant Scots. By a Lady of Honour* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1699), p. 8.
[135] Anon, *The Golden Island or the Darien Song*, p. 3.
[136] Anon, *The Golden Island or the Darien Song*, p. 3.
[137] Anon, *The Golden Island or the Darien Song*, p. 4.

Holy Write' to fulfil Scotland's destiny of settling at the Isthmus of Darien, and to then receive the obeisance of the land:

> Fortune put on her Gilded Sails,
> Went to the Antipods
> Heathens receiv'd us with a Grace,
> As if we had been Gods.
> The Gales blew sweet, we Bless the LORD
> […]
> When we were on the *Darian Main*,
> And viewed that Noble Land,
> The Trees joyn'd hands and bowed low,
> For Honour of *Scotland*.
> *The Golden Island* (1699).[138]

'We're Antipods to *England* now' writes the poet, the distance surely a metaphor for an active distinction between the paired realms, as 'New Caledonia' would have been as far abroad from Scotland as England. In the midst of this bright vision, as Scots 'pass the Line' which surrounds 'the Glob [sic]' the poet recalls the pecuniary motives of the undertaking, assuring returns of a hundred to one to 'All Men that has put in some Stock'.[139] The reference is not a natural one to the general tone of the piece, and serves as a reminder of the pressing need to follow interest in the scheme with investment. The poem closes with the same alignment of the nation's interest to that of the colony, empowering prospective participants to 'let your Fame in *Scotlands* Name / O're spread both Land and Sea'.[140]

Unbeknownst to the Company's supporters in Scotland, the ships of the first settlement were already scattered when the second expedition left port in August-September 1699. The *Endeavour* sunk soon after leaving New Caledonia in July 1699; the *St Andrew* was abandoned in Jamaica after bringing the dying Robert Pennycook to its shores, the *Unicorn* and *Caledonia* reached New York in August of 1699, but only the *Caledonia* returned to Scotland. The ships of the second expedition that inspired the author of the *Golden Island* fared little better; *Hope* was wrecked off Cuba in August 1700, the *Hope of Bo'ness* was in such poor condition when the second settlement was abandoned that it was surrendered to the

[138] Anon, *The Golden Island or the Darien Song*, pp. 5, 6.
[139] Anon, *The Golden Island or the Darien Song*, p. 4.
[140] Anon, *The Golden Island or the Darien Song*, p. 8.

Spanish of Carthagena in April 1700; both the *Duke of Hamilton* and *Rising Sun* were lost in hurricanes off Charleston, Carolina in August 1700, the *Rising Sun* with all hands.[141] The ready conflation of the colony's interests with the country's, and the heralding of its participants as ambassadors for Scottish enterprise, as described in the ballads and poems above, demonstrate how it was that 'the whole nation' as described by John Holland, came to be 'so Universally in favour of this Indian and African Trade',[142] as well as what made the Darien disaster such a psychologically crushing blow. '[The] shame it brings on our Country is the worst thing in it,' wrote the Earl of Tullibardine on the news of the second settlement's collapse, 'for after we had made such a noise abroad & been the envie of Europe we will now become their scorn.'[143]

What an analysis of the early ballads around the Company and Scheme reveals is the influence of what Angus Calder called Scotland's remarkable 'song culture' which cut across the ranks of Scottish society, literate and otherwise, as an alternative source of news and information.[144] 'Historical ballads' in Scotland have primarily been considered as a reflective exercise which emphasised 'culturally significant' moments, and whose purpose within communities is best understood outside their use as literary products: 'Traditional history that bolstered the discerning reader's sense of national identity', in the words of Charles Duffin.[145] Such texts thus tend to describe 'cultural' rather than 'historical' 'truths' which 'emphasise group consciousness and cement the worldview of a traditional, oral community.[146] However, many of the poems and ballads around the early Company and Scheme demonstrate a driving contemporaneous relevance, full of details which informed the public, and are best understood as being of their time rather than about their time. Contemporary Gaelic bards such as Iain Lom have already been acknowledged to operate within 'vernacular traditions of social and political criticism' through their commentary on current events.[147] Ballads such as *Trade's Release*, which display an intimate knowledge of

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[141] John Prebble, 'Appendices: Vessels owned or Chartered by the Company of Scotland', *The Darien Disaster* , p. 348.
[142] Sp Coll Spencer 24: John Holland, *A Short Discourse on the Present Temper of the Nation* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1696), p. 10.
[143] 'Letter from the Earl of Tullibardine, October 1699, on the news of the Darien Disaster, National Archives of Scotland', GD, 406/1/4444, as quoted in Bowie, p. 30.
[144] Angus Calder, 'The Enlightenment', *The Manufacture of Scottish History*, Eds. Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley (Edinburgh: Polygon, 1992), p. 49.
[145] Charles Duffin, 'Fixing Tradition: Making History from Ballad Texts', *The Ballad in Scottish History*, Ed. Edward J. Cowan (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p. 29.
[146] Duffin, 'Fixing Tradition: Making History from Ballad Texts', pp. 19, 21.
[147] Christopher A. Whatley and Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 12-13

events around the Company of Scotland, act as position papers for the Company's projected actions. At the same time, the Company's use of Scottish print and song culture in conjunction with their attempts to assert a unifying claim to the attention of all Scots strongly indicates that the Company of Scotland and its well-wishers played a far more active role in the creative promotion of the scheme and the Company than has been previously intimated. Similarly, the imagined potential of the Company to alleviate 'the economic hardships' present in Scotland in the 1690s[148] and transform Scotland as a nation on the world stage, as described in the *Ode* and *An Congratulatory Poem,* ties such works closely to the public mood in Scotland of hope and expectation.

Conclusion

The recurring famines of the 1690s in Scotland were one cause of the unusual expense of fitting out the Company's expedition, as well as the delayed departure which saw the first fleet leave Scotland with supplies fit for six months instead of nine, reducing the expedition to short rations from the outset.[149] Scotland's domestic incongruity with ready enterprise would not have suited the rousing nature of the promotional ballads and poems, however, making the vision of Scotland within such works a misleading portrayal of its anticipated future.[150] When considering the chapter within the broader context of the thesis, it is clear that the imaginative conception of the Company of Scotland resonates with the earliest expressions of Scottish colonial rhetoric from the start of the seventeenth-century. The realignment of historic memory in *Poem Upon the Undertaking*, attempts to orient Scottish history towards a desire for trade. One can similarly see in *Trade's Release* the enduring tension and rivalry between English and Scottish sovereignty in the pursuit of colonial enterprise. One can also see in the inflection of contemporary events how the outlook of the Company and its supporters was moulded by their immediate circumstances, especially the early frustrations of the Company in raising money outside Scotland. When considered

[148] David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire*, p. 159.
[149] R.A. Houston, *Scottish Literacy and the Scottish Identity*, p. 120. Ms Gen 1683 'Darien Manuscripts and Proclamations' includes a petition from the Company of Scotland to the High Commissioner dated 22 July 1698, complaining that the assumption of financial assistance from Hamburg had 'induced us [the company] to propose a far greater Equipage at first than otherwise we would have done; So the rendring of those Measures *abortive*, has not only weaken'd our Stock lessened our Credit, retarded our first Expedition, and disheartened many of our Partners at Home, but even also shackled our Resolutions and Power from prosecuting at Present several other Branches of Forreign and Domestick Trades and Improvements which we had in View'.
[150] Christopher A. Whatley and Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 139.

together, the poetic works associated with the early Company of Scotland reflect how much the imagining of Scottish colonial enterprise changed over time, and turned with the Company towards a more distinctly nationalist and populist interest, and away from the co-operative vision of the Company's founders which one can see in works such as *Upon the Undertaking*.

The transformation of the anonymous 'Undertaking' and its imagined potential, into the 'Darien Scheme', is essential to understand the sudden potency of the latter project, and the change that was navigated through popular print culture. Works such as *The Golden Island*, while reiterating earlier themes around Scottish colonisation, creatively reimagined the events that led up to the settling of Darien by removing human agency in favour of manifest destiny. The expectations and excitement which the earliest materials had generated for Scotland's prospects as a maritime trading empire were artistically reassigned to Darien. Going to Darien was no longer understood as a choice, it was an obligation, and one that could not be prevented; not even when word of the first settlement's collapse reached the ears of the Company Directors before the second expedition cleared Rothesay Bay, only to be ignored.

> Where, after they'd tarried looking up to the skies
> To send 'em down Meat and Gold Rain,
> And had wearied their hands and had tir'd out their Eyes,
> In *delving* and *searching* for gain.
>
> Two Thirds being *dead*, and another made *Slaves*
> By the Spaniard for fear of his Oar,
> They left *felling Trees* and ceas'd *digging Graves*,
> And *crawl'd* to their Ships from the Shore.
> *Caledonia; or, The Pedlar turn'd Merchant* (1700).[151]

[151] Sp Coll Spencer 31: *Caledonia; or, The Pedlar turn'd Merchant. A Tragi-Comedy*, p. 30.

Chapter Eight: Travelling News and Travel Writing

> The history of the first occupation of the Isthmus is a melancholy record of dissension and disorder. The Scots were threatened by the advance of a Spanish force from Panama. But it did not require the shock of arms to dislodge them. Provisions began to fail; sickness thinned their ranks; neither stores nor reinforcements reached them from Scotland; a sloop which they sent to Jamaica for provisions returned, not with food, but with the news of the Proclamation issued by the Governor by order of King William – the Proclamation which forbade the giving of any help to the Scottish settlers. So discomfited were the starving and despondent Scots that they decided to leave Darien at once. The survivors, now reduced to 900, crowded into their ships. Of these, the St. Andrew reached Jamaica, while two, the *Caledonia* and the *Unicorn*, reached New York: all these ships had a heavy loss of men on the voyage. Of the fleet that had steered so gallantly down the Forth only one ship, the *Caledonia*, returned to Scotland.
>
> […] The record of the second occupation of Caledonia Bay by the fleet of four ships that sailed from the Clyde in the autumn of 1699 is equally melancholy. There is the same tale of discord and dissension. But it was not left to famine or despair to bring about the second abandonment of Fort St Andrew. Despite the victory of Captain Campbell in a skirmish at Toubacanti the Spaniards invested Fort St. Andrew by land and blockaded it by sea. On 31 March, 1700, the Articles of Capitulation were subscribed.
>
> G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme* (1947).[1]

As the previous chapter has shown, Scotland's creative print and oral cultures clearly played a significant role in furthering the imagined potential of the Company and invested a sense of national identity within its goals. When the location of Darien became known as the location upon which the Company of Scotland had established a settlement, the imaginative conception of the Company's 'Undertaking' became imaginatively transformed into what we now understand to be the 'Darien Scheme'. This chapter will largely focus on 'non-fiction' print culture, and the creation and distribution of 'news' of the Darien colony in Scotland prior to the scheme's collapse. As Karin Bowie has highlighted, the production and dispersal of political news was greatly enhanced in Scotland by the end of the seventeenth-century, by the increasing numbers of booksellers, which complemented the increasingly high proportion of literate citizens in Scotland's urban and rural centres. Improved communication networks also facilitated the distribution of information beyond Edinburgh.[2] More importantly, according to Allan Kennedy, the appetite for news and newsletters was a marker of 'Highland

[1] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, Historical Association (Great Britain) General Series (London: Staples Press Ltd, 1947), pp. 19-20.
[2] Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion and the Anglo-Scottish Union* (Chippenham: The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 23.

involvement in the wider Scottish scene' not always apparent in scholarship, which tends to emphasise the homogeneity of regional zones.[3] Several distinguished figures in the Highlands cultivated a 'studious' habit of 'information-gathering' through wide-ranging personal correspondence networks which allowed information from Edinburgh and elsewhere to be dispersed throughout the country.[4] One of the noticeable features of Joseph Taylor's travelogue, *Journey to Edenbourough* (1705), is the preponderance of such booksellers and informal information networks in his journey through Scotland, providing the latest ballad, book, or pamphlet to the public.[5] More so than ever before, the rapid spread of print and information throughout Scotland allowed for a 'national' sense of involvement and appreciation of the events of the day.

Print therefore had a significant potential to help or harm the Company as it attempted to carefully cultivate a veneer of public confidence, or 'indirect artifice' to use the phrase of Walter Herries, to attract investors and volunteers for the Darien scheme.[6] The Company Directors had already suffered from their experience in August 1695, when copies of the Acts of the Scottish Parliament which had established the Company were freely circulated and scrutinised in London coffee-houses, which preceded the movements in the English Parliament against it.[7] The Company Directors thereafter demonstrated a keen desire to suppress any information at odds with their interests. They successfully delayed the publication of Lionel Wafer's book on the Isthmus of Darien by paying Wafer off until after their first wave of settlers departed. When William Paterson and his companions attempted to purchase maritime provisions and equipment in Hamburg in 1697, their chosen agent absconded with some £20,000 of Company money.[8] The embezzlement scandal which followed cost Paterson his position within the Court of Directors, but the news of the embezzlement was 'studiously concealed' to use the words of Saxe Bannister, 'as scarcely to

[3] Allan Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom: The Scottish Highlands and the Restoration State, 1660-1688* (London & Boston: Brill, 2014), p. 36. For an example of the schismatic approach see Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1999).
[4] Allan Kennedy, *Governing Gaeldom*, pp. 36-37.
[5] Glasgow Special Collections, Mu8 C20: James Taylor, *A Journey to Edenborough in Scotland* (William Cowan, 1705).
[6] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien: Including an Answer to the Defence of the Scots Settlement there* (1700), p. 2.
[7] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 10.
[8] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1970), p. 102.

be suspected by the hired tract-writers of the day, who would gladly have turned it into ridicule'.[9]

Moreover, the Company's Directors and supporters, recognising the value of antagonism in provoking a sense of national solidarity, manipulated the reporting of the English Parliament's treatment of the Company as part of a carefully planned campaign of 'economic propaganda' to garner support in Scotland.[10] The opening of the Company's subscription books in Edinburgh in 1696 coincided with copies of 'an address by the English parliament to the King against the Company' being printed and circulated in Scotland, 'alongside tracts advertising the new venture'.[11] The address against the Company invited public commentary, with items such as a *Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to His Friend at Edinburgh* (1696), which, out of an indignant 'zeal to [his] country', sought to prove 'that the Scottish African and Indian Company, is Exactly Calculated for the Interest of Scotland'.[12] Public support for the Company was 'further maintained' by the 'publishing of a series of petitions to the government in 1697-99,' which invited participation in complaints of ongoing English interference.[13] This chapter will discuss the role of the Company of Scotland in the public narrative around the scheme that featured in the reporting of the landing of the Scots at Darien in late 1698, and the subsequent promotion of the second expedition of 1699. The time delays between events in the South Seas taking place and their reporting in Scotland allowed for the promulgation of misleading reports and misinformation around the Company and the scheme, with strong parallels to the shaping pressures of travel hoaxes. This chapter aims to understand the initial repudiation in print of the news of the colony's collapse, and how the 'truth' of the situation on the Isthmus of Darien came to light.

The First Reports of Darien.

It was not uncommon by the 1690s for London papers and newsletters to be a source of news in Scotland, albeit an expensive one, which alongside printed parliamentary speeches and political tracts, contributed to a healthy appetite among the reading public.[14] It was welcome

[9] Saxe Bannister, 'Biographical Introduction', *The Writings of William Paterson*, Ed. Saxe. Bannister (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), p. lvi.
[10] Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p. 28; G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 12.
[11] Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p. 28.
[12] Sp Coll Spencer f9: Anon, *A Letter from a Gentleman in the Country to his Friend at Edinburgh* (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1696), p. 3.
[13] Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p. 28.
[14] Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, pp. 13, 21.

news to the merchant communities, burghs, and borough councils of Scotland, when Captain Donaldson began publishing the *Edinburgh Gazette* on the 28th of February 1699. Several town councils were noted as taking up a subscription on behalf of their communities, offering as it did an 'inexpensive digest of European, English and Scottish news' twice-weekly, 'at ane fare more easie rate' than the London papers.[15] By a fortunate coincidence, after a long silence since its first departure in July 1698, news of the Company of Scotland's fleet landing at Darien reached Britain the following month in early March:

> London, March 11, 1699: There are much talking here about our Scots African Company; and the English begin now to fear our rising Greatness, because it is supposed, that we have luckily fallen upon the best island in all, America (being called DARIEN) where our ships are landed. […] Its said here, that it may be made a Key to the South Sea, or East-India Trade; which, if true, will prove as much our Interest, as if it were a Golden Island, as some others call it; because it will shorten by the one half, the way to the East-Indies, and on that account make the English to joyn in with us for their own interest. […] As also, it is talked here, that a great many from Jamaica have left the English already and gone in to our New Fort at Darien. Moreover, the Spaniards are dreadfully affraied of us, lest we joining with the Natives, should dispossess them in these places thereabout, where they are right weak. […] In short, if I should write all I heard of this Subject, I would exceed the bounds of a Letter; but I am overjoyed to see this Metamorphosis, that the English, who formerly dispised us, now begin to change thoughts of us.
> *Edinburgh Gazette* No. 6 March 16th-20th (1699).

That news of the colony should first come from a source in London is unsurprising given the established dependency of Edinburgh newssheets on the London mail. The copying of information from other newspapers and circulating newsletters was one of the 'everyday mechanisms of newspaper making in early modern Europe' and among the most critical for questions of credible representation in reproduced print.[16] More interesting are some of the descriptive terms used in the letter recounted in the *Gazette*. In the gossip-laden style of prose common to the contemporary writer of newsletters, the people of London are said to be speaking of 'our' Scots African Company, 'our rising Greatness', which has led the Spaniards to be 'dreadfully afraid of us'.[17] The impression is one of intimacy as well as a shared excitement. Other choice phrases are also worthy of note. Describing Darien as the

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[15] 'The town council of Stirling subscribed in May 1699, noting "that they may be served with the weeklie news by the Edinburgh Gazett, which contains both forraigne and domestick occurrences, at ane fare more easie rate"', *Stirling burgh extracts,* pp. 90, 94, as quoted in Karin Bowie, *Scottish Public Opinion*, p. 22.
[16] Michiel van Groesen, '(No) News from the Western Front: The Weekly Press of the Low Countries and the Making of Atlantic News', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, XLIV/3, (2013), pp. 750, 758.
[17] W. J. Couper, *The Edinburgh Periodical Press: Being a Bibliographical Account of the Newspapers, Journals, and Magazines issues in Edinburgh from the Earliest Times to 1800*, Vol. 1 (Stirling: Enean Mackay, 1908), p. 76.

'Key' to the South Sea and East-Indian trade is a phrase made famous by Paterson in his after-the-fact justification of landing at Darien, describing his vision of a global entrepot, 'capable of enabling their possessors to give laws to both oceans, and to become the arbitrators of the commercial world'.[18] As referenced in previous chapters on Travel in the South Seas and Lionel Wafer, however, descriptions of the Isthmus as both 'door' and 'key' go back at least as far as the buccaneers. Dampier's account of the crossing of the Isthmus in *A New Voyage Round the World* (1697) might then be in part the source material for this description among those eager to learn more of the location the Company had settled on. Its appearance in the *Gazette*, removed from its earlier contexts, suggests that the reception of this idea in Scotland may have been different from how the scheme was received elsewhere. An alignment between the door kept fearfully shut by the Spanish, to be locked or unlocked by the buccaneer's traditional method of entry, makes Paterson's 'key to the universe' a more implicitly bloody affair.[19]

Describing Darien 'as if it were a Golden Island,' as in *The Golden Island, or the Darien Song* (1699), is a possible conflation of Darien with the immediate proximity of 'Golden Island' on the Darien coast. The claims to a 'Metamorphosis' in the opinions of the English appear to fulfil the aspirations of the author of *Trade's Release* of a reconceptualised impression of Scotland in the wider world in the wake of the Company's potential success.[20] The claim of a depopulation of Jamaica in favour of Darien, while certainly a fear of the 'great men of Jamaica' when the settlement at Darien was first established, lends the scheme credibility by suggesting other investors and settlers wish to participate. [21] What is significant in the *Gazette*'s suggested depopulation of the other Caribbean colonies in favour of Darien is how much it follows the justifications given in the 'Memorial' published by the Committee of Trade in 1681, for planting a Scottish colony in the Caribbean in the first place. One of the advantages for a Scottish colony in the West Indies was supposedly due to there being 'many Scotts men alredie planted […] who, hearing of a designe of a Scotts plantation for which they have longed these many years, will be glad to remove themselves and their families to any place appointed […]'.[22] Any prospective Scottish colony in the Caribbean was presumed

[18] William Paterson, 'A Proposal to Plant a Colony in Darien; To Protect the Indians Against Spain; and to Open the Trade of South America to All Nations' (1701), *The Writings of William Paterson; Founder of the Bank of England*, Ed. Saxe Bannister (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), p. 159.
[19] See pp. 138, 177.
[20] Anon, *Trade's Release: Courage to the Scotch-Indian-Company* (Edinburgh: 1699).
[21] MS Gen 1682 'Richard Long and Duke of Leeds' 15th February 1698/9.
[22] 'Memorial of the Committee of Trade' (1681), in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 126.

to have a claim on the many Scots already expatriated among the plantations of Jamaica, or Bermuda, and elsewhere, and it is to this universal call of nationhood that the assumption of planters flocking to Darien appears to owe its source. However, the claims of the early March edition of the *Gazette* can be paired with a letter dated the 21st of March, from Sir William Beeston, the lieutenant Governor of Jamaica, to James Vernon, Secretary of State, which in turn features in Vernon's own correspondence to the Duke of Shrewsbury on the 8th of June 1699. According to Sir William, the provisions and money of 'the Scotch at Darien' were already beginning to fall short of their needs by March 1699. 'Sir William believes their want will make them run to Jamaica,' writes Vernon, 'which he wishes, as thinking they will be an additional strength to the Island.'[23] The disparity between contemporary public announcements and private correspondence was to be a running pattern with the Darien scheme.

The first report on Darien published in the *Gazette*, while mostly rumours, nevertheless touched on themes that were recurrent in the earlier promotion of the Company, reflected contemporary discussions around the colony and Scottish colonialism more broadly, and featured language that would be present in subsequent promotional work. However well-intentioned, the *Gazette*'s publication of the letter from London was evidently not well received by the Company Directors, as made clear in the immediately succeeding issue of the *Gazette*:

> Edinburgh: In regard the Honourable Directors of the Indian and African Company, have signified their Displeasure at the Contents of that Letter, which was inconsiderately inserted in our last, concerning the Settlement of the said Company, 'Tis hoped that none will lay any further stress on the said Letter, than as a private person's Information to his Friend, and what he heard at Random on that subject, how ill soever grounded or expressed.
> *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 7, March 20th-23rd 1699.

Shortly following this announcement, Alexander Hamilton arrived in Scotland on the 25th of March carrying dispatches from the colonists confirming the successful landing at Darien. The Company, as if to assert the primacy of their sources over a 'private person's Information' and regain control of the public reception of news of Darien, made as much of his dispatches public 'as they thought politic' on the 27th of March 1699. To further align this work of publicity to public sentiment, they also sent a deputation to the Lord Chancellor

[23] *Letters Illustrative of the Reign of William III*, vol. II, p. 303, as quoted in G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 123.

asking for public demonstrations of joy at the welcome news.[24] Thus *An Express from the African and Indian Scots Company Fleet Landed in New Edinburgh in Caledonia* (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1699) came into circulation, and was reproduced almost in its entirety in the edition of the *Edinburgh Gazette* from that week:

> Edinb. March 27. On Saturday last, the 25 instant, here arrived an Express to the Court of Directors of the Indian and African Company, From the Council of their Collony in America, bearing date at New-Edinburgh in Caledonia the 28 of December last, which brings the welcome news of their being arrived safe at Darien the 2d of November. That the Natives come immediately on board of them, with all imaginable demonstrations of Joy, at their arrival, inviting them ashoar to settle and inhabite amongst them, and that they should meet with a kind and welcome reception: […] that in a very short time, the chiefs, or captains, of the several tribes, were so very fond of their Treatment, that they offered not only a right to what was uninhabited in their several bounds, but also to resign even their own particular plantations: and that before the said express came away, they had, with all the Solemnity and Ceremony requisite, taken Commissions from the said council, and do actually carry the Company's Colours in their canoes, or little boats: that, that part of Darien where they are settled, (now called Caledonia) was never before possessed by any European Nation: that the Climate is as Healthy there, as any upon the Continent of America; and they are so far from meeting with any of those Contagious Distempers, epidemick to the English and other American Islands, that all the men who were sick upon the voyage, have, since, their Arrival there, recovered to perfect Health, even before Expectation, excepting a few who died before Landing, or very soon thereafter; so that the said Express left not a sick man a shoar except five, who were on a very hopeful way of Recovery: that the soil is extream Rich and Fertile, and when duely Cultivated, will (no doubt) produce any thing that's valuable in America: That the Country is extremely well watered with excellent springs, and rivers of choice wholesome water: that they have a very commodious and excellent harbour, and that as yet their whole time was bestow'd and all hands at work, in building of Forts and Houses. The ministers of the several churches of this city, and suburbs thereof, did yesterday after sermons, return publick and hearty thanks to Almighty God upon this occasion.
> *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 8, March 23-27th, 1699.

The express was seen to 'certify' the successful landing, coming from an official packet of dispatches, and spoke with authority. It also confirms an interval of around three months between events taking place at the Isthmus, and the news reaching Scotland.

As shown by its use in the previous chapter, the express published and circulated by the Company and picked up in the *Gazette* clearly seeks to establish the settlers' rightful claim to the land from the outset. Rather than landing settlers, the Company's fleet welcomed on

[24] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, p. 237.

board the natives of Darien first, who then invited the colonists 'to settle and inhabite amongst them' offering not only land 'uninhabited' but also voluntarily surrendering part of their own holdings. The natives then become 'company men' in carrying the Company Colours, under commission from the colony's council, on their boats, and endorse the renaming of the region 'Caledonia'. The swift assertion of a dominion of rights to both land and peoples by the Company is followed by reports of extremely good health, and a lively report of industrious work raising fortifications and houses. It is also from the native peoples of Darien that the important claim comes that 'that part of Darien where they are settled (now called Caledonia) was never before possessed by any European Nation.' This claim is not wholly coherent with the other materials sent to the Company Directors with Hamilton. The journal attributed to Pennycook which detailed the landing of the Scots at Darien and provided a brief biography of the local chiefs makes extremely clear that all the native peoples were in some regard under the influence of the Spanish at Panama, as former slaves, servants, and the most inveterate of opponents in war. When the Scots landed they also met several Frenchmen who claimed to have been living with the natives for several years, and from one of which they gained a further history of some of the native peoples. The journal even describes the French of Petit Guarve issuing their own Commission to one of their countrymen over 'all the French and Indian Forces on the Coast of Darien' against the Spanish.[25] None of these details made it into public circulation through the *Gazette*. The positioning of the native peoples in the express and *Gazette*'s reporting, as both endorsing the arrival of the Scots and dismissing any possible claim by a competing European power, is more than a deferral to a seemingly impartial voice. The terms of the Act of Parliament that empowered the Company of Scotland to settle plantations only did so on the understanding that the Company would not settle on lands held by powers at peace or amity with the Crown. To do otherwise would negate any right to protections or privileges granted to the settlement, and it is upon this point that so much of the controversy of the Darien Scheme turns.

The difference between the parliament of Scotland or England acknowledging the legitimacy of the colony of New Caledonia once it was made known would be akin to the difference between a pirate and a privateer in the South Seas. Spain would have no mercy regardless, but the charge of piracy came at the cost of state protection and supplies, 'and thereby

[25] MS Gen 1681: 'Pennycook's Journal from 2 Sept to the 28 Decb. 1698', November 6.

exposes the pirate to the jurisdiction of all other countries'.[26] When the English parliament issued their 'Proclamation' to the English colonies in 1699,[27] forbidding them from supplying the colonists at Darien with provisions on the grounds the settlement violated the peace with Spain, they were said to have treated the Scots 'as Pyrates' and not recognised the legitimacy of the Company's mandated authority.[28] 'Pirates were not universally condemned because of the *nature* of their actions,' writes Harding, 'but rather for their failure to comply with the formalities of licensing.'[29] The efforts by the settlement's council in New Caledonia and the Company of Scotland in Edinburgh to forestall this objection by claiming a mandate from the peoples of Darien in the first available instance oddly mirrors the tactics of the buccaneers in their attack on Panama in 1681 at which Dampier and Wafer were present. Lacking letters of marque, they claimed a different commission, as described by Preston and Preston:

> The governor [of Panama] enquired what the buccaneers thought they were doing, since England and Spain were supposed to be at peace. Sawkins replied silkily that he and his men had come to assist 'the King of Darien', who was 'the true lord of Panama', and demanded, as the price of their peaceful departure, 500 pieces of eight per man, 1000 for each commander, and a promise that the Spaniards would not 'annoy the Darien Indians' any further.[30]

In his catalogue of the 'indirect artifice'[31] deployed by the Company of Scotland in their descriptions of Darien, Walter Herries explicitly compares the tactics of the Company to those of the buccaneers and pirates, in the ennoblement of otherwise modest native captains to an elevated form of sovereignty and status:

> But to return to our Landlord and the other Indians; Captain Andreas' Plantation was amongst the Mountains, about 4 miles from our Harbour; the extent of his Government was from Carrit-bay about 8 or 9 miles on one side of us, and Golden Island about 5 miles on the other side, such a portion of land being the Lairdship or Kingdom of these Captains whom the Buccaneers, Privateers, and Scotch Company would have to be Kings and Sovereign Princes.[32]

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[26] Christopher Harding, '"*Hostis Humani Generis*"– The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea', *Pirates? The Politics of Plunder, 1550-1650*, Ed. Claire Jowitt (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), p. 21.
[27] The 'Proclamation' sent to the English colonies was similarly reprinted and circulated in Edinburgh 1699.
[28] Sp Coll Spencer 20: *A Short and Impartial View of the Manner and Occasion of the Scots Colony coming away from Darien in A Letter to a Person of Quality* (1699), p. 29.
[29] Christopher Harding, 'The Pirate as Outlaw in the Early Modern Law of the Sea', p. 23.
[30] Diane & Michael Preston, *A Pirate of Exquisite Mind, The Life of William Dampier: Explorer, Naturalist and Buccaneer* (London: Doubleday, 2004), p. 72. The deflection of responsibility for the raids of Coxon and Sawkins to the authority of the 'King of Darien' was repeated in the diplomatic letters sent from Jamaica to Whitehall 1682, showing the use of such characters in hiding a multitude of sins: British Library, Sloane MS 2724: 'Papers from Jamaica'.
[31] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien*, p. 2.
[32] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien*, p. 54.

The Scots who settled at Darien would soon learn from the native Captains themselves, as well as from other Europeans living on the Isthmus, that 'there was no great King or Emperor of Darien' nor a 'Golden One such as Paterson had once believed'.[33] However, even after the colony had collapsed, the relationship of the Scots with the natives of Darien would continue to be a declared motivation for a Scottish colony on the Isthmus, as shown in the subtitle to Paterson's *A Proposal to plant a colony in Darien* (1701), '[…] to protect the Indians against Spain and to the trade of South America to all nations.' What appear as minor details from the first express from the colony can instead be read as the Company taking steps to inoculate itself from any charge of illegitimacy, by positioning itself rhetorically as entitled to act in the manner they had always intended. Details from the colony were being shaped and presented in print to the best advantage to the company, and with aberrant information gently excised from public reports. The success of these actions is reflected in subsequent works in Scotland, such as the *Letter from the Commission for the General Assembly, of the Church of Scotland* (1699). This text offered thanks to God for the successful voyage, and especially entreats the colonists of New Caledonia to deal kindly with the natives of Darien, as the Kirk would have them considered 'as your Confederates and *Allies*'.[34] By such means, the Company's printed narrative of events becomes the public narrative, as their receipt of expresses and dispatches directly from the colony grants them the power to report with authority and, at least temporarily, to override the rumour-mill. The next issue of the *Gazette*, April 3rd-April 6th, records the consequences of this report and the Company's 'deputations' to the wider Scottish community. The magistrates and town councils of Glasgow and Perth, 'Upon the welcome news' of the express, ordered public celebrations and the ringing of bells. The same issue has a moment of pause, however, as it records a warning from the paper's agents in Madrid, describing the resentment of the Spanish court to the Scots' intrusion on their domains, and a complaint being made 'to His Majesty of Great Britain'.[35]

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[33] John Prebble, *The Darien Disaster*, p. 160. Also see MS Gen 1681: 'Pennycook's Journal from 2 Sept to the 28 Decb. 1698.' November 6: 'This morning arrived a cannua with a Frenchman, two creolines of martenico, and four, as also a Perigo with captain ambrosio, and Pedro […] These Frenchmen had liv'd 4 years with these Indians, & one of the most sensible of them speaks their Language perfectly, who gives us the following accompt viz. that the stories of an Emperor of King Paico, Rose & Golden cape were mere Fables.'

[34] Sp Coll Spencer 29: *A Letter from the Commission for the General Assembly, of the Church of Scotland; met at Glasgow, July 21. 1699 To the Honourable Council, and Inhabitants, of the Scots Colony of Caledonia, in America* (Edinburgh: George Mosman, 1699), p. 12.

[35] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *The Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 11, Monday April 3 to Thursday April 6, (1699).

Darien's Composite Narratives.

Once news of the landing and the location of the colony became widely known, there was an explosion of interest in the region of Darien, with the pamphleteers and the writers of newsletters and newspapers trying to meet the public's demand for discussion of the colony's situation and prospects. The distance between events and their reporting, however, meant that receiving news of the Atlantic world was dependent on the arrival of ships and dispatches from afar, and resulted in long waiting periods for further information. In the words of Groesen, writing of similar circumstances in the Low Countries in the early seventeenth-century, the time between official dispatches and correspondence gave 'patriotic armchair travellers ample time for hope and anxiety, while giving the newspapermen headaches on how to track developments that potentially shifted the balance of power at home'.[36] Public interest and anticipation in the scheme was nevertheless maintained and perpetuated by the publication and circulation of less 'official' reports and correspondence. In such discursive spaces, fictions bud and bloom.

Advertisements for such materials began to appear in the *Gazette*, as did evidence of efforts made by the Company to capitalise on the public's enthusiasm by inviting 'all such Officers, Gentlemen, Volunteers, Tradesmen, and others' interested in joining the Company's colony at Darien to apply to the Company's house in Mill's square.[37] One such advertisement appeared in issue No. 13 in early April, 1699 for a 'Short Description of the Isthmus of Darien, where the SCOTS AFRICAN COMPANY are now certainly arrived, with a MAP of the Isthmus of DARIEN' to be sold by a John Vallange and James Wardlaw at their respective shops.[38] The 'Short Description' is an amalgamation of 'some letters writ from the Place where they [Darien colonists] are settled', including one passed on to the anonymous author from an 'Intelligent Person' in London which claimed to be an account from an actual colonist in New Caledonia. In addition, as the recent publications on Darien by Lionel Wafer and William Dampier were 'of a considerable price', the pamphlet merges copied extracts on Darien from Wafer's and Dampier's books, which were in turn heavily edited to focus on 'what related more particularly to Our Scots African Company'.[39] The result is a curious document, shaped by a very active editor, and combining first-person appeals to the reader of

[36] Michiel van Groesen, 'The Weekly Press of the Low Countries and the Making of Atlantic News', p. 743.
[37] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 27, 29 etc.
[38] See pp. 82, 93-94, 177.
[39] Anon, *A Short Account from and description of the Isthmus of Darien where the Scots Collony are settled* (Edinburgh: John Vallange, 1699), p. A2.

the opportunities of Darien, and the most titillating and engaging episodes from the two buccaneers. In his work on 'Travelers and Travel Liars', Percy Adam described a process by which 'legitimate' travel writing later misleads the public in their descriptions. Accounts can fall victim to 'a fireside editor or translator' who feel that 'the original journal must be made more attractive to the public or must be tailored to fit the needs of what is considered to be a more sophisticated or more robust time'.[40] What the author of Vallange's pamphlet deemed most relevant to 'Our Scots African Company' appears to be, among other things, descriptions of how the natives gathered gold, and the particular need for any prospective settler to bring with them bags strong enough to bear the weight.[41]

Copying and compiling materials in this manner was typical of printers in Vallange's day. Another advertisement featured in the *Gazette* on Vallange's behalf was for 'The History of the Works of the Learned: or, an Impartial Account of Books lately printed in all parts of Europe'. Vallange's Edinburgh reprint is claimed to be of 'the Volume and Character' of the original licensed work, but of a price 'not half of what is payed for the *London* Copies'.[42] Such reprints were to the printer's profit, and presumably to the individual purchaser's satisfaction if they could trust the accuracy of the copy. The reproduction and compilation of letters describing and promoting the Scottish settlement of Darien, however, carried more than ordinary dangers to the public, by obscuring already anonymous materials into a collection, with a specific promotional aim. As already described in Chapter three, 'Factual Fictions', the networks of information that supplied newsprint and coffee-houses alike were vulnerable to specific kinds of misleading material which played to national and cultural prejudice. 'Counter-balancing stratagems' of corroboration and witnessing within a text, or contemporary qualifiers of authenticity through a colophon or stationer's mark, by which a reader might satisfy their scepticism of a text could also be manipulated by a skilled author.[43] The further removed a text became from its original publication, the more liable it was to interference from outside sources, which could potentially be confused with 'authentic' accounts.

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[40] Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. 80.
[41] Anon, *A Short Account from* […] *the Isthmus of Darien where the Scots Collony are settled*, p. 19.
[42] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 28, May 22nd-25th.
[43] Steve Clark, 'Introduction', in *Travel Writing and Empire: Postcolonial Theory in Transit*, Ed. Steve Clark (London: Zed Books, 1999), pp. 1-2. See also pp. 26, 88-89.

The extract in Vallange's pamphlet claiming its origins in the experience of Wafer and Dampier, for example, diverts to information gained from a 'Mr B […], another Traveller in those Parts' on the qualities of the local plantains.[44] By inference, this 'Mr B' is likely Isaac Blackwell, whose *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien* (1699) appears a likely source for the description of the bay attributed to the letter from the 'Intelligent person' from London. Blackwell claimed to be a contemporary and former companion to Dampier and Wafer on their expedition to the Isthmus as buccaneers, though his crossing was conveniently with another party: 'therefore if that they and I do not agree in our Description' wrote Blackwell, 'is none of my faults; for what I have written is the real Truth of what I have seen and heard, for the Incouragement of my Countrey-men.'[45] While Blackwell claimed to have read 'not one word of Mr. Dampier or Mr Wafer's books' prior to writing his account, there are some notable similarities of specific anecdotes, such as the grisly story of the sponge-like corpses of the Peruvian natives on the coast recorded in the latter part of Wafer's voyage home.[46] More remarkable, however, are some of the major differences between the experiences described by Wafer and Dampier, and those of Blackwell, that call into question the authenticity of his account. The references to a 'Darien-City' as 'the Metropolitan of its Province' escape the notice of every other prior or contemporary traveller to the Isthmus. Where Wafer had described the rains and flooding, which fed the swamps and mangrove forests and changed the landscape from day to day, Blackwell describes a far more stable and limited time-period of rains: 'the middle of *November*, to the middle or end of *January* […]' with the rest of the year 'fair' and 'serene', with coconut trees and pineapples.[47] Such was not the experience of the colonists. Blackwell's ethnography is drastically different in places also. Where Wafer's experience with the natives of Darien always had an earthy practicality, Blackwell's ethnography and natural history describes imaginative techniques of torture and cannibalism among the natives of Darien, and a test of adultery mirroring the trial of bitter water 'that we read of in the Law of Jealousie in the Levitical Law'.[48]

The natives of Darien are said by Blackwell to mock the Peruvians for claiming wealth when compared to their own riches, and yet despite an undoubted interest in the riches of Darien

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[44] Anon, *A Short Account from* […] *the Isthmus of Darien where the Scots Collony are settled*, p. 12.
[45] Sp Coll Spencer 16: Isaac Blackwell, *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien […] By I.B. a well-wisher to the Company* (Edinburgh, 1699), p. 1.
[46] Sp Coll Spencer 16*:* Isaac Blackwell, *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien*, pp. 11-12.
[47] Sp Coll Spencer 16: Isaac Blackwell, *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien*, p. 2-3.
[48] Sp Coll Spencer 16: Isaac Blackwell, *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien*, p. 2-3, referencing Numbers 5:11-31.

among Blackwell's Scottish readership, he becomes suddenly coy: 'I could Write much more concerning the vast Riches that are there in these places', wrote Blackwell with regret, 'but I know that my Countrey-men are generally *Thomasses*, or at least I am sure that they would be content to be *Thomasses* by experience in this matter'.[49] Despite all these examples of either exaggeration, obfuscation, or likely fabrication, Blackwell comes closest to breaking the illusion of authenticity when discussing the natives' incomprehension of falsehood, and their method of oath-taking:

> Their way of swearing, is either by their Fathers or Mothers back-side; or if it be a great and deep oath, then they swear by their Grandfathers; and if no body will believe the Truth that they are saying, then they swear by their great-grandfathers and Mother's back-side.
> *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien* (1699).[50]

'But as for Lyeing', Blackwell continues, 'I never could get them to comprehend it.' [51] By implication the natives' inability to comprehend lies, or falsehood, is a part of their innocence or unsophistication. An enlightened and civilised audience should be able to discern the truth and detect falsehood in a manner described in the chapter discussing 'Factual Fictions' and 'Travel Hoaxes'.[52] There is a challenge to a reader as to whether they are willing to exercise their 'civilised' scepticism, and doubt Blackwell's claims that the natives swear solemn oaths upon their grandparents' buttocks, made evident in the author's goading the reader as acting like 'Thomasses' if they do not believe him. Similarly, Blackwell mocks the typical reader as acting 'like Children, who love to play with bony Pictures', when he does not accommodate them with a map of New Edinburgh to illustrate his claims. Printed pictures would have provided material proof of sorts. Much of Blackwell's account appears to be fabricated, although as Adams notes, misleading travel accounts rarely wholly avoided reality, and Blackwell's *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien* shares many details that were reported or repeated in other contemporary materials.[53]

A Letter giving a Description of the Isthmus of Darien (Where the Scots colonie is settled) (1699), published by James Wardlaw, the other printer behind the 'Short Description of the Isthmus of Darien', carried the same story as Blackwell of certain Darien natives reaching the

[49] Sp Coll Spencer 16: Isaac Blackwell, *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien*, p. 4.
[50] Sp Coll Spencer 16: Isaac Blackwell, *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien*, p. 14.
[51] Sp Coll Spencer 16: Isaac Blackwell, *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien*, p. 14.
[52] See pp. 26, 86-87.
[53] Percy G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars, 1660-1800*, p. 2.

age of 'a Hundred and Twenty Years'.[54] This 'Letter' claimed to have been written by a colonist at Darien who was present 'when the two gentlemen went for *Scotland* who brought the News of our arrival.' The origins of its account of the remarkable centenarian, however, can be shown to lie with the Company of Scotland, as the account is found almost word for word in the journal of the Scots settlers' initial landing at Darien sent back to Scotland with the first dispatches:

> There was an old Woman who cook'd their Victuals for them, and was very stirring about the House; She seem'd to Us to be near sixty, (and was *Ambrosio*'s Grand-mother) but upon asking Her Age, We were inform'd She was an hundred and twenty; We could not believe it, and were persuaded they must mistake in the Computation of Time: but as an infallible Demonstration, they shew'd to Us the sixth Generation of this Womens Body in the House, which was indeed very surprising; And we were assured' twas common amongst them to liv 150. Or 60 Years; Yea' tis observed those of them who converse often with the *Europeans*, & drink their strong Liquors, are short liv'd.
> *A Letter, giving A Description of the Isthmus of Darien* (1699).[55]

> There was an old woman who cook'd their victuals, and was very stirring about the House. She seem'd to us to be but about sixty (She is Ambrosio's Grand mother) but upon asking her age, the Frenchman told us she was 120. We could not believe Itt, and were persuaded they were mistaken in the computation of time. He assur'd us not, and for an undeniable proof, show'd us the 6th generation of this woman's body in the house, which was indeed most surprising to us, and yet more, when he assur'd us it was common among them to live to 150 & 160 years. Yet it is observed those of them who converse often with Europeans, and drink our strong liquors are but short liv'd.
> MS Gen 1681: 'Pennycooks Journal, November 21' (1698).[56]

Attributed variously to Robert Pennycook, the expedition's commodore, and/or 'Mr Rose', the Secretary of the Council in the Colony, this journal can also be seen to inform the description of the bay of Darien found in Blackwell's account.[57] It is possible that details from the journal were made freely available to the public, or that other colonists subsequently recorded the same account in their own correspondence home. There are also clearly multiple sources aside from the journal, which feature in the construction of both Blackwell's account

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[54] Sp Coll Spencer 19: *A Letter, giving A Description of the Isthmus of Darien* (Edinburgh: John Mackie & James Wardlaw, 1699), p. 23; Sp Coll Spencer 16: Isaac Blackwell, *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien* (1699), p. 15.
[55] Sp Coll Spencer 19: *A Letter, giving A Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, p. 23.
[56] MS Gen 1681: '1698. Captain Pennycook's Journall. From the Madera Islands, to New Caledonia. From 2 Sept to the 28 Decb. 1698.'
[57] For both versions of the Journal, see MS Gen 1681: 'Pennycooks Journal' entry 21st November, 1698;
Mr Rose 'Journal or Diary of the Most Remarkable things that happened during the Scots African and Indian Fleet' as quoted in James Samuel Barbour, *A History of William Paterson and the Darien Company* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood and Sons, 1907).
Sp Coll Spencer 16: Isaac Blackwell, *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien*, p. 2.

and the 'Letter'.[58] There is the possibility, however, that the Company of Scotland and its Directors played a direct role in allowing such information as they had to enter into the public record by means of their 'well-wishers', who printed in furtherance of the Company's goals.

Taking the journal as an original document which potentially informed descriptions of Darien in circulation in 1699, it becomes swiftly apparent that several specific details from the journal were 'missing' in later accounts of the colony. The French residents of the Isthmus, who 'had liv'd 4 years with these Indians' and who acted as interpreters for the Scots on their landing in Pennycook's journal, are conspicuous by their absence from accounts that predate the news of the collapse of the first settlement at Darien.[59] The presumably editorial decision to excise the presence of other Europeans in amicable contact with the natives of Darien is illustrative of how information from the colony, in this instance a manuscript journal, was adapted for print to better position the public narrative around the Scottish claims to the Isthmus of Darien. Similarly, Wafer's and Dampier's accounts of Darien have been readily acknowledged as inspiring Paterson and the Company's Directors to settle a plantation at the Isthmus of Darien in the first instance. The consistent presence of either their names or materials in the 'Abundance' of letters 'spread over the Country' in contemporary circulation, as a common point of comparison or knowledge, suggests their reputations also played a considerable role as a source of authenticity and credibility in works promoting the scheme.[60]

Blackwell certainly attempted to assert a comparable authority to legitimate travellers such as Dampier and Wafer, by claiming to have been their shipmate and to have personal knowledge of the Isthmus, which is why he features in the amalgamation of their materials in Vallange's pamphlet. 'The authority all travellers claim for themselves,' according to Carl Thompson, is 'that of the eye-witness', whose experience is later transposed or crafted into their text.[61] Both Blackwell and other 'well-wishers' to the Company offering descriptions of Darien either claimed to be living there at present, or to have lived there in the past, and positioned themselves and their accounts as authorities on that basis. Later 'Memoirs' or reflections on the Darien scheme, such as Francis Borland's *Memoirs of Darien* (1715), would claim an authority as an 'Eye Witness of many of the Tragical passages of Providence', and that which

[58] L. E. Elliott Joyce, 'Introduction', *A New Voyage & Description of the Isthmus of America by Lionel Wafer*, Ed. L. E. Elliott Joyce (Oxford: The Hakluyt Society, 1934), p. lxii.
[59] MS Gen 1681: 'Pennycooks Journal'; Sp Coll Spencer 20: *A Short and Impartial View of the Manner and Occasion of the Scots Colony coming away from Darien* (1699), pp. 36-37.
[60] Anon, *A Short Account from* […] *the Isthmus of Darien*; Ms Gen 1682: 'Richard Long and Duke of Leeds', p. 276.
[61] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing: The New Critical Idiom* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 27-28.

he did not see himself 'he relates as he had them delivered by credible Persons, who were eye witnesses of them when they occurred'.[62] Borland, as the only minister sent to Darien to return to Scotland, declared his motivations for publishing as to reflect and preserve the memory of his time at Darien. The 'letters' and pamphlets published in the wake of the Company's express, like Blackwell's, were by people claiming to be 'well-wishers to the Company' who sought 'for the Incouragement' of their countrymen, and especially those who might otherwise be doubtful 'Thomasses' of its potential.[63] The repackaging of information from the Company or colony or other sources to the public through these interlocutors, who claimed a validity through the uniqueness of their experience while conforming their accounts to the demands of their public, invites a parallel to the travelogue form of the early novel, in its appropriation of 'actuality' in pursuit of a realistic fabrication.[64] It follows from the chapter on early modern travel hoaxes,[65] as well as the innocent gullibility of the native peoples described by Blackwell, that scepticism and deceit were considered the traits of a 'civilised' society, and a readership capable of determining for themselves what was 'true' and what was not. At the same time, any public or private expression of doubt in the idea of Darien that was being promulgated in print invited accusations of a lack of patriotism, or comparisons to the misplaced scepticism of St Thomas. Works such as Vallange's pamphlet serve as an excellent example of the way in which extant information around Darien was collected, specific details extracted, and then edited together, in part obscuring the origins of specific claims, but also framing the materials in the pursuance of a preferred public narrative. Such disparate but connected works of publicity further obscure the origins of specific claims by their repetition, reinforcing a collective sense of what was 'known' or mistaken about Darien.[66]

Ironically, such conglomerations were often less appealing than the individual items. The map which the anonymous 'Gentleman' included in his *Letter, giving A Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, and dedicated 'To the right Honourable John Marques of Tweedale, Earl of Gifford, Viscount Walden, Lord Hay of Yester', is of a much higher quality that the one included by Vallange in his pamphlet. The first John Hay, Marquess of Tweeddale (1625-1697), while a Williamite in the Glorious Revolution, had been dismissed from his role as

[62] Francis Borland, *Memoirs of Darien: Giving a short Description of that Countrey* (Glasgow: Hugh Brown, 1715), p. 3.
[63] Sp Coll Spencer 16: Isaac Blackwell, *Description of the Province and Bay of Darien*, pp. 1, 4.
[64] Carl Thompson, *Travel Writing*, p. 15.
[65] See p. 88.
[66] Sp Coll Spencer 19: *A Letter, giving A Description of the Isthmus of Darien*, p. 23.

Lord Chancellor of Scotland in 1696 for endorsing the formation of the Company of Scotland, with all its wide-reaching privileges, in the absence of King William. John Hay, the second Marquess of Tweeddale (1645-1713), was a leader of the 'Squadrone Volante' that played such a pivotal role in the passage of the articles of Union in Scotland, as well as being, according to Prebble, a member of the Council General of the Company of Scotland, and a patron of William Paterson. The Hays thus defy any supposed division between support for King William, support for the Company of Scotland, and support for the later Treaty of Union.[67]

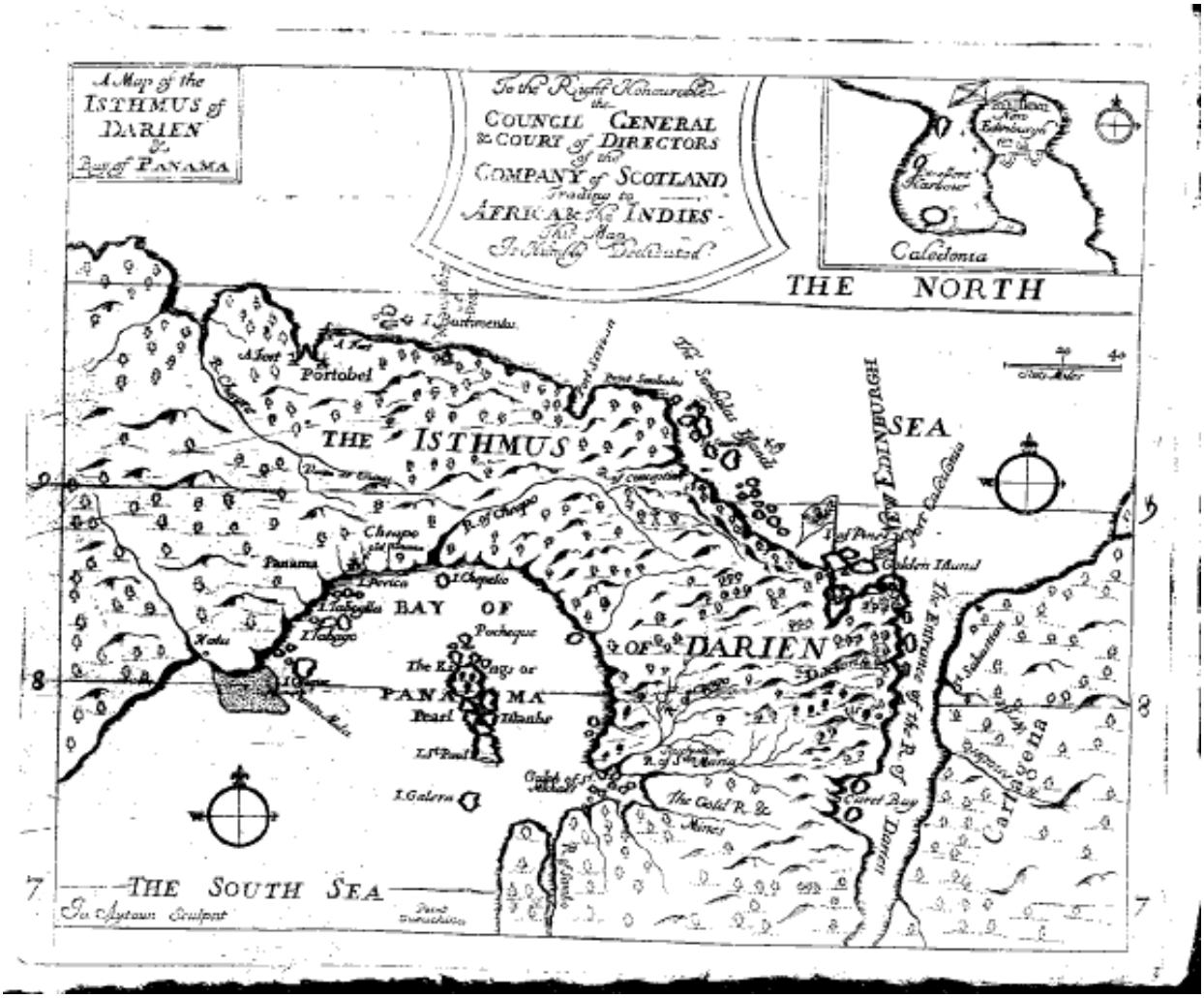

Fig. 4, Anon, *A Short Account from and Description of the Isthmus of Darien* (1699).[68]

Like a worn-out engraving stamp, that softens and blurs its image with use, Vallange's recreated map is crude by comparison. Yet it was able to carve out the imagined boundaries of the colony of 'New Caledonia' as though it were a colonial fiefdom, replete with 'New

[67] John Prebble, 'Appendices', *The Darien Disaster*, p. 346.
[68] Anon, *A Short Account from* […] *the Isthmus of Darien*, pp. 14-15.

Edinburgh' and 'Fort St Andrews', and bearing flags of Thistle and Saltire. 'The act of naming is to give space a specific history,' to reference Bruce McLeod, 'a history that naturalised the rule of the colonist' as being in a position of authority to produce and create knowledge of the colonized.[69] '[…] it would Rejoyce any Scots Heart, in coming in to that Bay' declared the author of the pamphlet, 'to see two Scots Flags Flying, one upon their Main Fort, which is pretty well advanced, and another upon a Redoubts, from whence they have a great Prospect.'[70] The imposition of a Scottish landscape upon Central American topography in this instance is a vivid piece of imagery to include with promotional pamphlets. To adopt McLeod's argument on 'English literary culture and colonialism' regarding Hakluyt, the imagery of Scottish flags flying high over the fort and settlement, 'from whence they have a great Prospect' demonstrates a strategic imagination, attempting to 'unite and secure' the Scots within 'their essentially global and contested spaces'.[71] The origin of this strategic imagination, following the Map's header, comes at the direction of the Company of Scotland Trading to Africa and the Indies. The pamphlet and map are not just describing the geography of Darien and the actions of the Company in bringing and settling Scots in the New World. The pamphlet, and other similar travel writing materials in circulation in Scotland, facilitates the Company's aims of promoting the scheme, by leading the reader through their interpretation of the materials. Through the crude approximations on the map, and the description by a supposed colonist describing the work in progress, the reader vicariously *sees* the two Scottish flags flying high over the colony and imagines the growing fortification and settlement. It doesn't matter that features of the map are lost, or obscured, such as the exact location of the Spanish settlement of 'Carthagena' on the periphery. Part of the purpose behind 'cartographic imperialism' in the New World was to assert a national right to territory over principally European rivals.[72] The map serves its function of spatially 'creating' and 're-creating' 'New-Caledonia' in print. By such maps, and descriptions, the reader is invited to participate, and to realise the ideological projections of the map by going and *making* the New World 'Scottish'. The knowledge of the scheme's failure, and the recriminations that followed, inevitably informs a modern reading of such print products. What might have been innocently read as popular patriotism seems instead to be deflecting from a lack of substance, and a manipulation of national pride to promote the Company. Vallange's pamphlet captures

[69] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature 1580-1745* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 53-54.
[70] Anon, *A Short Account from* […] *the Isthmus of Darien where the Scots Collony are settled*, p. 2.
[71] Bruce McLeod, *The Geography of Empire in English Literature 1580-1745*, p. 120.
[72] J. H. Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World*, p. 34.

a moment in time that demonstrates how Darien was commercialised and publicised by the Company and its well-wishers. The pamphlet reveals what was thought to be most appealing to the public from respected sources, and in the primacy of letters from the colonists confirms the usefulness of 'first-person' experience to the Company. The role of travel accounts and the descriptions and ethnographies of Darien they contained, however suspect, and their advertisement in the Gazette, has clearly been an underdeveloped aspect of scholarship on the promotion of the Darien Scheme. As shown in the further reports of the *Gazette*, however, it was not just travel accounts and newsletters in circulation in Scotland that were informing the public discourse in Scotland on Darien.

Questionable Accounts.

The narrow window of time between news of the first expedition's landing at Darien becoming known in Scotland in March 1699 and the departure of the second expedition in August/September of that year under immense expectations is the hey-day of positive excitement around the Darien scheme. References to anonymous 'letters' from Barbados and Jamaica are continually referenced in the *Gazette*, describing the advantages of the Scots' settlement of the terrain and for maritime trade, with ships arriving 'dayly going thence to them with Rhum, Sugar, &c'.[73] The descriptions of the fruitfulness of the land were in stark contrast to 'famine-racked' Scotland, and volunteers for the second wave to Darien grew apace throughout the first half of 1699.[74] In this time-period the *Gazette* reported the Company's calling for subscription payments of 5% for buying supplies to dispatch ships to resupply the fledgling settlement and to furnish the stores of the second expedition. King William was reported to have said the Spanish have no case against the Scots, as they had '*done the* Spaniards *no* Prejudice, *being upon a part of the Continent where the Spaniards never settled*',[75] and the *Gazette* published the Company's adverts for money, and for prospective settlers to New Caledonia. Other sources of information and news began to appear in the pages of the *Gazette* from this point, with issue No. 25, dated May 18th-22nd 1699, reporting mixed news of the Colony.

[73] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 17, May 25-29 (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1699).
[74] Christopher A. Whatley and Derek J. Patrick *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), p. 170.
[75] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 13, April 10th-12th (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1699).

Letters from a 'Captain Lloyd' of 'Admiral Bembo's [Benbow] squadron', sent to the South Seas on behalf of the English government, had apparently come with a ship in London lately arrived from Jamaica and from there fallen into 'very good hands' to be written up into a report sent to Edinburgh. These letters bore an account concerning 'our Indian and African Company's Colony in America':

> […] the People of *Caledonia* are now so strongly Fortified that they need not fear the power of *Spain*; having (as those Letters bear) cut through the Neck of the *Isthmus*, or rather *Peninsula*, where they have made their Settlement, and mounted Threescore great Guns towards the Land: That their Countrey abounds with Gold, some of which the said Captain *Lloyd* says he has seen, much finer than any that ever came from *Africa*: He adds, that People go in to them very fast from all the English Plantations, and that many ships and sloops go daily to them with Provisions […] The same Letters do also bear That Captain *Robert Pinkarton* having got a sloop, went out to Trade with the Spaniards in the accustomed Manner along their Coast […] the sloop unfortunately sprung a great Lake [sic] by which he was forced to run her a shoar, where himself and all the crew were made Prisoners by the *Spaniards*, and had their Cargo seiz'd upon […] no Body thinks Captain Pinkarton or any of his Crew can come by any harm; and that at the outmost it will cost our Colony but a Reprisal. Other Letters do bear, that Admiral *Bembo* being then at *Jamaica*, was resolv'd in two or three Days to go and visite the said Colony, and Demand the Prisoners for them, if they should be refused upon the former Demand.
> *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 25 May 18th-22nd 1699.[76]

'Captain Lloyd' as an officer in the English squadron suspected of being sent to the South Seas to obstruct the Scots colony could be assumed to have few reasons to promote the conditions of the colony at New-Caledonia. There is nothing from accounts by the colonists to indicate that Benbow's squadron approached the Darien colony to gain any such information directly. There is another account of Benbow two weeks later in the *Gazette*, this time securing the release of English shipping which had been seized by the Spanish at Cartagena in retaliation for the Scots' designs in their territory,[77] indicating that the Spanish authorities did not recognise a distinction between the actions of the Scots and the English in the encroachment of Darien. According to his entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1885), however, the English ships released by the Governor of Cartagena on Benbow's demands had been intended for imminent use by the Spanish in an expedition against New Caledonia. 'Benbow's actions virtually put an end to this and preserved the colonists for the

[76] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 25, May 18th-22nd (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1699).
[77] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 18, May 29th-June 1st (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1699).

time.'[78] Benbow's peripheral involvement with the scheme, and the evident hope in the report in the *Gazette* that he would assist in the release of Pincarton, as well as the lack of any comparable Scottish naval presence to speak of, highlights the changes in national policy between Scotland and England that had arisen in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. Under the Stuarts, Scotland's inability to raise much of an independent naval force had mattered very little to the ruling powers. As Lord High Admiral of both Scotland and England, James, Duke of York had expected the Stuart Navy to protect the whole of Great Britain and Ireland, 'without undue concern for the separate maritime jurisdictions of the two nations'.[79] As shown in the chapter on the Scottish settlement of East New Jersey, the promoters of Scottish colonial endeavours in the 1680s were confident that the English navy would protect a Scottish colony, 'as if the Plantation belonged to the Crown of *Scotland*'.[80] According to Graham, the Williamite Revolution 'abruptly ended this understanding and reopened the question of maritime sovereignty' in an era of 'rising national consciousness and assertiveness'.[81] The Scottish government simply did not have the means to maintain a regular navy. While the Scottish government had requested, and received, several ships from England which they manned and paid for in 1696, they were 'immediately de-commissioned and laid up at Burntisland' on the Treaty of Ryswick in 1697.[82] Benbow's ability to assist the Scottish colony, even indirectly by threatening Spanish ports and securing the release of English shipping intended to attack the Scots, is a reminder of the lack of protection that independent Scottish colonial enterprise now operated under.

Reports from suspect 'letters' continued to appear in the *Gazette* through the summer, which added to the mythos that was being created around Darien. Another such was a letter purportedly from 'Anteggo' [Antigua] which describes the colony as not only richly provisioned with food, and confident in their prowess following victory over the Spanish, but also as having been joined by 500 of the South Sea buccaneers:

> London, July 13th. There are Letters from Anteggo and several other places in the West-Indies, that the Scots at Darien have plenty of Flesh, Fish, Fowel, and Roots, but the Countrey is not provided with Bread-Corn. They confirm that having Repulsed the Spaniards by Sea, and their taking two Spanish Ships. They add, that the Buccaneers who assisted the French when they took Carthagena, having fallen out with the French

[78] *Dictionary of National Biography*, Ed. Leslie Stephen, Vol. IV, Beal-Biber (London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1885), p. 209.
[79] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), p. 63.
[80] Anon, *A Brief Account of the Province of East New Jarsey* [sic] (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1683), p. 5.
[81] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, p. 63.
[82] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, pp. 80, 84.

> governor of Petit Guavens, because of their being denyed such a share of the Booty as they demanded: Five hundred of the stoutest of them have joined the Scots.
> *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 42 July 17th-20th 1699.[83]

The closest correlation to this claim can be found in Paterson's report to the Company Directors in December of 1699, where he reported a French sloop led by a Captain Tristian visited the colony around April of 1699, which roughly aligns with the three months between news of events at New Caledonia reaching Scotland in July. This Captain Tristian, as with Lionel Wafer's narrative of life among the buccaneers, drew his authority in Paterson's eyes, from his time spent living among the native peoples of Darien:

> Captain Tristian hade, some years agoe, by shipwrake upon this coast, been forced to live a great while among the Indians, and to goe naked as they. He spoke the language, and admired this country for healthfulness, fruitfulness, and riches, above all other in the Indies, and said he would come and reside among us, and doubted not but above five hundred of the French from Spaniola would soon be with us.
> William Paterson 'Report by William Paterson to the Directors' (1699).[84]

The adventures of Dampier and Wafer had already forged a close association between the bucaneers and the Isthmus, and the very real sacking of Cartagena by the French two years earlier in concert with the brethren of the coast certainly excited the imagination. An account of the French raid on Cartagena de Indias, *Relation de l'expédition de Carthagène faite par les François en 1697* (Amsterdam, 1697) was a relatively recent publication and presumably also made news, and the reference to the raid itself in the *Edinburgh Gazette* assumes the reader's knowledge of the events it alludes to. It seems a fair assumption that the *Gazette*'s account of French buccaneers joining the Scots at Darien has its origin in an account of this meeting between Tristian and Paterson, included in an express or letter from the colony to the company, being then passed on to publication in the *Gazette*. If so, it is a remarkable example of the transformation of news through referral and repetition. In the three months it took for an account of this meeting to make it to a Scottish printing press, what began primarily as Paterson or his compatriots receiving a private assurance of future assistance from French buccaneers by someone who could not be assumed to speak for them, became 'five hundred of the stoutest' French buccaneers having already having joined the Scots *in situ* in print. The immediate framing and promotion of the Darien scheme and its potential was being continually informed by these sorts of accounts as the scheme progressed. In such ways,

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[83] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 42 July 17th-20th, (Edinburgh: James Watson, 1699).
[84] William Paterson, 'Report by William Paterson to the Directors', (1699), *The Writings of William Paterson* Ed. Saxe Bannister Vol. 1, 2nd ed (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), p. lxxvi.

'Darien' as an imagined construct grew in its strengths and power, as material around it became amalgamated into the momentum and assumptions of a greater narrative around 'New Caledonia'.

The weight of momentum behind the positive projection of Darien in print can be felt keenly when it came into conflict with the first intimations to the *Gazette* that the colony at Darien had been abandoned:

> By a Letter from Jamaica, bearing date the 10th of July last they would have us believe, that our Indian and Africa Company's colony, had abandoned their settlement in Caledonia, founding their advices, upon the report of a sloop that had been upon the Spanish Coasts of America, and had met with a Spanish sloop there, from whom they had that information; But we have other letters from Jamaica, dated the 13th of the said Month, which give not the least account of any such news, tho from persons who keep an intire correspondence with the said colony, who reasonably may be expected to know more of their Affairs, than these from whom the other Letters come […].
> *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 60, September 18th-21st, 1699.[85]

The editor of the *Gazette* had to contemplate an account at odds with the current popular narrative's preconceptions, which by its potential consequences cannot be ignored and must instead be addressed. The scepticism of the editor is clear throughout as they position themselves as the interlocutor for the news by which 'they would have us believe' […]'. The attention is first to the source, a letter from Jamaica, an English colony, informed by a ship which heard it from a Spanish sloop, each in turn suspect, whereas in previous positive accounts there was no such objection. The relay of information from distrusted sources is then compared to the nearer relation of a friend of the colony and the company from a later date, and give these circumstances, the letter's discordant account is dismissed:

> […] the former letters seem to be altogether Groundless and inconsistent with former Accounts we have had of the Natural strength and Commodiousness of the place, together with their absolute resolution to possess it, Especially seeing they want not provisions, and are undoubtedly able to defend it against any Force the Spaniards have in those Parts, much less is it to be thought, they would leave their colony, when neither attack'd or besieged.
>
> We have Accounts from all places of the Country, that the price of Victual is falling dayly, and that it is already more than one half cheaper than what it has been some time ago.
> *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 60, September 18th-21st, 1699.[86]

[85] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 60, September 18th-21st, (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1699).
[86] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 60, September 18th-21st, (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1699).

As the *Gazette* had so recently reported, the Scots of Darien were supposed to have plentiful quantities of food and water, the benefits of well-made positions, and the advantage of the terrain and a weak foe. On what grounds could they possibly be threatened? To suggest as much would be '[…] inconsistent with former accounts,' of the 'Natural strength and Commodiousness of the place', as well as contradict the Scots' 'absolute resolutions to possess it [the colony]'. In a tone of near exasperation, the editor affirms that the colony of New Caledonia is supposedly going so well that the price of victuals was dropping daily. This interpretation must not have been enough to settle disquieted minds, as the follow up editions featured a catalogue of the letters the editor of the *Gazette* had received which in the editor's eyes 'make the News of the Scots *abandoning* Darien *suspected*':

> 1. There are Letters of the 12th from Coll, *Knight,* Governor of *Port-Royal* in *Jamaica,* to his Friend here, whom it converned to know the said New if it had been true, and yet he says nothing of it. 2. We hear of Letter from Mr *Campbel*, commonly called Count *Campbel*, who was Captain of a Ship that was lost in *Port-Royal* Harbour, signifying, that there had been such a Report, but it was not believed; and that he had got assurance from that Colony in *July*, that they had no such Design. 3. We hear of Letters from Ad. *Bembo*'s Squadron, dated *July* 8, signifying, that they had been cruising off *Porto-Bello,* whence they had Advice, that the *Scots* were more and formidable to the *Spaniards*; and add, that the Ships which were sent from *Scotland* in *May* last, with Recruits and Provisions were arrive at *Darian*. 4. We here of private Letters from *Paris*, by the last Post, which say, they had Advice there of the arrival of the said Recruits. 5. The Spanish Ambassador has no Notice of the *Scots* leaving *Darian*.
> *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 61, Sept 21st-25th (1699).[87]

The first objection to the claims of the abandonment of New Caledonia is a lack of news; had it taken place, the editor of the *Gazette* is sure their trusted sources would have informed them. The first objection relies on the authority of the provider of such news, however, rather than the lack of it, as the second objection describes how such a report had in fact circulated in Jamaica but was not believed. The third reiterates the public perception of the settlement of New Caledonia's comparable strength against the Spanish through the eyes of the English navy, and along with the fourth, a dispassionate private account from Paris, claims that supplies sent from Scotland had reached the colony in July, thus preventing any potential issue arising from a lack of provisions. Finally, the Spanish authorities had yet to confirm the rumour. Taken together, this list is assumed to be compelling evidence, and in issue No. 62 of the *Gazette* these 'several accounts from very good hands' are enough for the *Gazette* to

[87] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 61, Sept 21st-25th (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1699).

conclude that 'the report of our colony's deserting Darien is altogether groundless'.[88] What this tortured analysis illustrates is the distinct role that newspapers were seen to have as arbiters of reliable news and information. As a body of print in continual publication repeating and responding to contemporary events, they had a role articulating the circumstances of the world and proved their relevance by their awareness of world affairs. Newsletters or pamphlets may be printed by individuals of the moment, but newsprint and newspapers by their nature were driven to express themselves through the imagination of the news-cycle. In reality, the two supply ships sent between the two expeditions, the *Olive Branch* and the *Hopeful Binning*, which sailed for the colony in May 1699 with provisions and 300 men and women, did not arrive until August of that year and found the colony abandoned. By misfortune, or 'through wicked neglect and want of care', as one contemporary described it, *Olive Branch* caught fire in the bay and destroyed herself and her stores and provisions in the process.[89] *Hopeful Binning* then retired to Jamaica, making the reports of their successful disembarkation at Darien an open question.

Unlike the contemporary reader of the *Gazette*, we can complement the *Gazette* from the 21st of September with a letter to members of the second expedition waiting for a favourable wind at Rothesay Bay, signed by three Directors of the Company and dated from the 22nd of the same month. This letter, which refers to the recent rumours of the colony being abandoned, opens up the possibility that the second expedition to Darien could have been countermanded, or delayed until they received confirmation of the colony's well-being. Instead, the Directors pooh-pooh the story of the flight of the Scots at Darien as 'made and propagated in England':

> We are likewise advised of a story made and propagated in England, viz that the Scots have deserted their Colony of Caledonia for fear of the Spaniards at Carthagena, an enemy that takes much tyme befo they be ready to make any attacque, and of whom we never heard that our people were affrayed. The story is altogether Malicious and false, and contrived on purpose to discourage people to go to our Colony with provisions […].
> 'To the Council on board the Rising Sun. Greenock, 22nd September' (1699).[90]

The dismissal of these contrary rumours as 'made and propagated in England' is the fulfilment of John Holland's warning in 1696 of a 'Universal Prejudice' in Scotland against any that showed the least 'Discouragement to this Forraign Trade […] without ever

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[88] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 62 September 26th-28th, (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1699).
[89] Ms Gen 1685/15: No. 1, 'From on Board the Rising-Sun in Caledonia Bay December: 25th 1699. By Mr Shields a Prebyterian Mnr'; John Prebble, *The Darien Scheme*, p. 256.
[90] Sp Coll Spencer 66: James Byres, *A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Rotterdam; Giving an Account of the Scots affairs in Darien* (1702).

Examining whither what is said, is in Reality or not, the Truth […]'. 'We must not believe what Mr. Holland sayeth,' so the claimed objection went, 'for he is an English Man and ingaged in a direct contrary Interest.'[91] As the Company and the Colony took the form of a national interest, it is only by way of national interests that individuals and their public contributions were to be evaluated. In the case of the letter to the Council aboard the *Rising Sun*, such assumed interests were the reason for news deemed in the 'direct contrary interest' of the Company to be dismissed.

Following the aftermath of the scheme's collapse, questions were raised over some of the reports that had circulated from this period in 1699. In James Byres's *A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh* (1702), he recounts a conversation in Jamaica with Mr. Mackay, a colonist of the first expedition who had returned to Scotland with dispatches and who later followed the second expedition as far as Jamaica.[92] Prior to Byres's departure from Scotland with the second wave of settlers, he had received a letter from John Sprewell saying that as part of the first expedition, Mackay had loaded his ship with Nicaragua wood to return to Scotland, but due to the unsoundness of his ship had been forced to unload his fabulous cargo at Rhode island instead, before continuing on. Byres asked Mackay what became of this cargo as 'I believe all the nation', according to Byres, 'knows that there was such a story loudly and confidently talked':

> He [Mackay] told me [Byres] that the story was really made before he reached Edinburgh, and the first question most people asked at him, was what was become of his cargoe, whereat he was astonished having indeed brought nothing with him: But some friends told him it was convenient that at that time people should believe as they did, and therefore he owned and confirmed what was talked of his Cargoe, though the Directors of the Company knew the contrary, and this, he said, Made him more reserved in his discourse, then otherwise he would have been while in Scotland.
> *A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Roterdam* (1702). [93]

The brilliance of the story of Mackay's imagined cargo that preceded his arrival back in Scotland is that it requires no corroboration. The story itself is an explanation of why Mackay could travel from the colony back to Scotland without bearing with him the riches of the West Indies. The convenience Mackay found in not disabusing his compatriots of their delusion but rather letting them 'believe as they did' is the more troubling, as it speaks to a public mood and sentiment on Darien in Scotland that would not likely bear contradiction.

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[91] Sp Coll Spencer 24: John Holland, 'A Short Discourse on the Present Temper of the Nation' (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1696), p. 11-12.
[92] John Prebble, 'Appendices: Principal Characters', *The Darien Disaster*, p. 344.
[93] Sp Coll Spencer 66: James Byres, *A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Roterdam*, p. 84-85.

Even evidence of a lack of goods in the form of Mackay's empty hold became appropriated to a narrative of industry and wealth. It says much for the potency of this imagined reality around Darien that even as the second expedition was proceeding to Darien and encountered news that the colony was abandoned, they only believed it on their arrival.[94] When letters arrived in Scotland frankly contradicting the supposed wealth and success of the first settlement, the Company Directors, the editor of the *Gazette*, and its readership experienced a crisis of credible representation over what they should or could believe. Neither the Company nor the *Gazette* had developed the 'effective trust networks' on which colonial trade and information networks relied, and who could be trusted in the event of crisis.[95]

It would be a few months more before incontrosvertible proof arrived in the November edition of the *Gazette*, in letters from Jamaica dating from August 14th, that the first settlement had been abandoned, as the company ships from the resupply effort, the *Hopeful Binning* and *Olive Branch*, had 'taken possession again' of the colony. They also brought news that the leader of the first expedition's ships, 'Pennycuik', was dead, and in a dramatic report carried in the *Gazette*, that the council general of the Company of Scotland was to meet in Edinburgh immediately.[96] The number of letters and reports from survivors and other authorities that confirmed the dreadful news increased in the weeks that followed. The national narrative of confidence in the Darien scheme was shattered by the revelations of the first expedition's failure. Advertisements for the pamphlet *A Defence of the Scots Settlement at Darien* (1700) appear in the *Gazette* No. 98, January 29th-February 1st, again sold by Vallange, and there is a noticeable shift in the published narratives towards blaming the cowardice of the first colonists, and the lack of support for the Scots colony from the English colonies, whose populations had previously been described in Scotland as flocking to Darien.

Conclusions

From this point, the fate of the second colony and the fallout from the Scheme's collapse is a matter of record. In closing, it is important to emphasise the stages of development in the public narrative around the Darien scheme to truly understand how the printed promotion of the scheme misled the Scottish public and heightened the consequences of the scheme's

[94] Sp Coll Spencer 66: James Byres, *A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Roterdam*, p. 13.
[95] Nuala Zahedieh, 'Economy', *The British Atlantic World, 1500-1800*, Eds. David Armitage & Michael J. Braddick (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), p. 68-69.
[96] Sp Coll Spencer f8: *Edinburgh Gazette*, No. 74, 80 (Edinburgh: John Reid, 1699).

overall collapse. From the time between the first and second expeditions to Darien there was a profound difference between events as they were imagined to be in print and how they were in reality, which was so extreme as to be appalling to a sympathetic reader, and led at least one colonist to suppose 'that persons were employed to blind the rest of the world, and to keep them in ignorance of what was either designed or practised'.[97] As well as initiating interest in the project, the false projections of Darien in its continuous printed promotion almost certainly led to adverse consequences, as we see in the comparison between the industrious works imagined by the Company's well-wishers, and the reality discovered by the second wave of colonists who had been enticed by the promise of the first. Not only was the colony not in the state advertised, but the poor state of things was such that it was too great a burden to be lifted by the new wave of colonists.

> On our arryvall we found all the huts with in fort St. Andrew, (and without there were never any built) burnt down to the ground, and the principall battery of the fort which guarded the entrance quyte demolished, and where as there were full accounts given of the Colonies having cut all the wood, on the neck of the Isthmus, we found no such thing, but on the contrary, on the side within the Bay unperviable Mongraves and Mossie ground, […].
> Letter to the Company from Caledonia Bay, 23rd December, (1699).[98]

> Too many knaves, too many fools, too many lairds and lairds bairns that think it below them to work and finding themselves disappointed of their big and fantastic hopes of getting goupens [sic] of gold for the uptaking and never thinking of the Nowpity [sic] of working and sweating for it felling trees, cutting down mangroves, digging into the bowels of the earth which now they find must be pitt to with thirst and hunger – This makes many rue their voyage and long to beat home again […].
> Letter From on Board the Rising-Sun in Caledonia Bay 25th December, 1699.[99]

Walter Herries' scathing and hyperbolic attack on the Company of Scotland and the Darien Scheme in his *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien* (1700) has a particular potency because as well as carrying the credibility afforded to a surgeon, Herries spoke with the authority of a former member of the first settlement at Darien. While some of Herries' accountings of the Company and its finances would be thoroughly contested in print by defenders of the Company, and later historians, Herries was privy to a knowledge of the daily workings of the settlement that was almost impossible to counter without a similar command. The inglorious account in Herries' narrative of accompanying the party of settlers who

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[97] Sp Coll Spencer 66: James Byres, *A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Roterdam* (1702), p. 6.
[98] Sp Coll Spencer 66: James Byres, 'William Gellie and Andrew Caldwalls to the Court of Directors, Caledonia Bay, 23 Decemb 1699', *A Letter to a Friend at Edinburgh from Roterdam* (1702), p. 15.
[99] MS Gen 1685: No. 1, 'From on Board the Rising-Sun in Caledonia Bay December: 25th 1699. By Mr Shields a Presbyterian Mnr'.

wandered along the coast of Darien in fruitless search of 'Nicaragua wood' before felling 'several kinds of strange trees' seemingly at random in the hope some of them might be of 'Lebanon' ring depressingly true in their mundanity.[100] These unfiltered and seemingly minor details of life in 'New Caledonia' under the disorganised government of the Company's ruling Council were warrants of authenticity against the more outlandish claims of Herries' accounts, and eroded the public façade the Company had striven to erect around their settlement in print. Herries' printed pamphlets on the Company and colony, intolerable to the Company's Directors, contributed to a warrant being issued for his arrest, with a bounty of 'Six Thousand Pounds Scots' for the 'Chyrurgeon' author of 'Blasphemous, Scandalous, and Calumbious [sic] Libels, reflecting upon Religion and the honour of this Nation, [Scotland]'.[101]

The Company's anxiety of the private becoming public, demonstrated by the Directors' initial concern at the *Gazette* publishing rumours about the scheme, was similarly evidenced by the colonists in their correspondence home. In the report Paterson gave to the Directors upon his return to Edinburgh in 1699, he describes the reticence of the colony's council to report too much of the true state of things in writing, lest the various factions emerging in the colony's government should pervert the truth, or go astray and prejudice public opinion against the colony by its publication: '[…] Upon these considerations they [colony's council] gave him [Major Cunningham] a general letter of recommendation, but no instructions in writing', wrote Paterson of the first official messengers from the colony, 'and Mr Hamiltoun hade also verbal order to intimate the matter, but soe cautiously as not thairby to prejudice the Collony's interest'.[102] The significance of public opinion was new to this generation of Scottish colonialism, and a direct consequence of the development of print culture in Scotland. Nothing recorded in writing could be guaranteed not to end up in print, and nothing in print was invulnerable to manipulation. The colony relied upon public confidence in the scheme to ensure continued support and supplies, as much as the Company relied upon the same confidence for continued subscription payments. Nor was the surprise and disappointment of the first settlement's collapse limited to Scotland. When Paterson and his

[100] Walter Herries, *A Defence of the Scots Abdicating Darien* (1700), p. 44.
[101] Sp Coll Spencer f45: 'Proclamation for Apprehending Walter Herries' (Edinburgh: Heirs and Successors of Andrew Anderson, 1701).
[102] William Paterson, 'Report of Matters relating to the Collony of Caledonia, made to the Right Honble. The Court of Directors of the Indian and African Company of Scotland. At Edinburgh, the nineteenth day of December 1699', *The Writings of William Paterson; Founder of the Bank of England*, Ed. Saxe Bannister (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), p. lxii.

companions limped into New York harbour on the 14th of August 1699, they found 'so universal ane [sic] inclination' amongst the Scots of East-New-Jersey and New York, 'who seem to regret' their departure from the isthmus more than they, that they had intended to send ships and supplies in support but for their departure.[103] According to Insh, it had been commonly reported in East Jersey that the Darien Scots 'had raised a fortress which mounted 150 guns, and would protect and encourage in every way all who would trade or correspond with them'.[104] The origins of these claims in East Jersey are not clear, but evidently the scheme, and its prospects for Scottish enterprise abroad, had caught the excited imagination of those already expatriated for some time. The Governor of East Jersey, Jeremiah Basse, recorded in a letter of June 10th, 1699, to the Council of Trade and Plantations the necessity to 'curb the endeavours of some gentlemen of the Scotch nation' in his jurisdiction who sought 'to promote not only the Scotch interest in general, but that particular settlement which they now call Caledonia'.[105] When Paterson and his companions returned to Scotland in November of that year they were to be shunned as cowards and deserters.

The necessity of aligning the Scottish public's perception of the Company's interests with the nation's is clear from the moment the Company was unable to raise capital either in England or later Hamburg and became wholly reliant upon Scottish subjects for subscriptions. Although the Company and its supporters printed their own pamphlets and proclamations directly, alongside independent well-wishers, the *Gazette* with its publishing network and progressive seriality was able to amalgamate such materials towards a larger narrative of events. It truly was taken as a national tragedy once the barrier of consensus thought on the Colony's prospects was finally overcome, and the full truth of the 'Darien disaster' became known. Too much time is taken up in histories of Darien by the financial consequences of the Company's failure,[106] without considering what else might have been 'invested' in the scheme. Of greater interest are questions of 'false news' and the manipulation of populist and nationalist sensibilities in the web of inspiration that was woven around the company and the colony. Contemporary print culture in Scotland played a hugely significant role in shaping and framing Scottish colonial rhetoric in promoting the Company and the scheme. As Lennard Davis wrote in *Factual Fictions*, 'when a reader during the seventeenth-century

[103] William Paterson, 'Report of Matters relating to the Collony of Caledonia', p. lxxxv.
[104] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 180.
[105] *Col, Cal* 1699, p. 281-2, as quoted in: G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 181.
[106] Christopher A. Whatley, *'Bought and Sold for English Gold'?: Explaining the Union of 1707* (Dundee: The Economic and Social History Society of Scotland, 1994), p. 25.

thought of buying a news-sheet or newsbooks, the notions of recentness, continuity, and seriality must have been key signifiers for this discourse.'[107] Newsprint had a claim to authenticity and truth by its contemporaneity and continual updating of events as they happened, such that the reader's vicarious observation of events changed with the report. The immediacy of reporting and the seriality of newsprint helped formulate a shared consensus and perception of events around the colony of New Caledonia that proved difficult to sway once it had taken hold of the public consciousness.[108]

The immense disappointment of the scheme, which resulted in the sense of shared grievance and populist anger the period is marked by, was grist to the mill of warring pamphleteers in populist and Jacobite causes.[109] However, these later arguments can overshadow the fact that the Company and its well-wishers, alongside their eager accomplices within the *Gazette* and other facets of Scottish print culture, were able to invoke and perpetuate an extremely potent idea of what Darien, and by turns what Scotland could be: 'New Caledonia'. The Darien Scheme highlights, to adapt scholarship on travel writing, the extent to which 'a reader's sense of reality only lies in his or her *assumption* that the text is based on travel fact […] there appears to be no essential distinction between the travel account proper and purely fictional forms of travel literature'.[110] The dream of Darien as it might be and as it could be remains preserved in the ballads and prints from the brief and fragile moment between tides and tidings of misfortune.

[107] Lennard J. Davis, *Factual Fictions: The Origins of the English Novel* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), p. 74.
[108] Michiel van Groesen, 'The Weekly Press of the Low Countries and the Making of Atlantic News', p. 742.
[109] Sp Coll Spencer f2: 'The Great Danger of Scotland, As to all Sacred and Civil Concerns, from these, who are Commonly known by the Name of Jacobites. In a Letter to a Friend'.
[110] Barbara Korte, *English Travel Writing from Pilgrimages to Postcolonial Explorations*, Trans. Catherine Matthias (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000), p. 10.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

In June 1700, news reached Scottish shores of a victory of the Darien colonists in a skirmish against the Spanish at Toubacanti the previous February. The news prompted celebrations in Edinburgh, and public illuminations by people lighting candles at their windows. These celebrations in turn became a riot as the revellers targeted the homes of individuals they deemed to be insufficiently elated, as evidenced by their windows remaining dark, and who were thought to be in opposition to the Darien settlement.[1] Free to celebrate good news from Darien and vent their emotions, the revellers of Edinburgh also sought to unleash the printers who they believed published in their interests, and whom they thought had been unjustly restrained and censored by the Scottish government. In 'great madness', the tolbooth was seized, 'and two printers who had been imprisoned "for printing and distributing inflammatory pro-Darien pamphlets," were released'. [2] This unfortunate incident illustrates an important point on print culture and travel writing in early modern Scotland, which is the investment of popular will and authority into the partisan producers of literary materials, who 'interpreted' events on behalf of an assumed 'national' polity. However, whatever deference there might be to the contemporaneity of newsprint over other forms of conventional print, the news of the skirmish at Toubacanti was delayed from reaching Scotland due to the immense distance involved and the contemporary means of travel. The 'news' of Toubacanti functioned in a similar capacity to a travel narrative insofar as it informed the readership of the metropole of events and actions that took place far away, some months before, and which in this instance were already out of date. Unbeknownst to the celebratory crowds of Edinburgh in June 1700, the settlement of New Caledonia on the Isthmus of Darien had already capitulated to the Spanish the month following the skirmish at Toubacanti in March. The Edinburgh public's understanding of events was necessarily informed by the materials they consumed, and in the case of the news of the collapse of the colony which shortly followed, liable to rapidly change from elation to 'burning resentment'.[3] That the mob chose to release the printers who published in support of the scheme reflects how entrenched Darien had become as a populist cause. The printers were identified as acting in support of the

[1] Karin Bowie, 'Publicity, Parties and Patronage: Parliamentary Management and the Ratification of the Anglo-Scottish Union' in *The Union of 1707: New Dimensions*, Eds. Stewart J. Brown and Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 81-82.
[2] Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick *The Scots and the Union* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), pp. 204-05.
[3] G. P. Insh, *The Darien Scheme*, Historical Association (Great Britain) General Series (London: Staples Press Ltd, 1947), p. 20.

scheme and on behalf of the people, while also being at variance with the ruling government which had imprisoned them. The joy and retribution of the mob was ultimately both pointless and sincere, and illustrates the fine line between an open deception, and a lamentable mistake or misreading in print culture.

The reaction of the mob to every triumph and disaster of the scheme resonates with Jonathan Lamb's analysis on the fallout from the South Sea bubble of later decades, where 'frenzy and infatuation' became a 'a national distemper once extraordinary ideas were generally admitted,' with the capability to 'destroy the credit of the state as well as an individual'.[4] The Darien scheme was to have been the vehicle by which Scotland was reinvented as a modern maritime trading empire. Following a confident campaign of promotion, the hopes and expectations of the Company had been matched by significant domestic financial investment, which was seemingly warranted by the initial reports of the colony as a practical success, and the envy of the world. The 'susceptibility' of the Scottish reading public to misinformation which catered to populist appetites made their 'brutal and sudden contradiction' with the news of the colony's collapse all the more devastating. As Lamb wrote of the South Sea bubble, 'If the ruin of the country were to be explained to the public, either this assumption had to be dismantled, or errant villainy had to be discovered. […] The latter was by far the most popular strategy […]'.[5]

In the vituperative atmosphere of the Darien scheme's complete collapse, in August 1704, the English merchantman, the *Worcester*, was seized in reprisal for the loss of the Scottish Company's ship the *Annandale*, which had been seized on behalf of the English East India Company. There was little to connect the ship or crew of the *Worcester* on that charge, and it appeared briefly as though the case against them would collapse. However, following a public campaign of rumours against them,[6] the *Worcester*'s Captain Green and two of his officers were subsequently tried and found guilty of committing piracy against a completely different Company of Scotland ship, the *Speedy Return*. *Speedy Return*¸ captained by Robert Drummond formerly of the *Caledonia*, alongside its consort the *Content*, had been taken by pirates 'in the notorious harbour off the Isle of St. Mary (off Madagascar) while their masters

[4] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas, 1680-1840* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2001), p. 86.
[5] Jonathan Lamb, *Preserving the Self in the South Seas*, p. 63.
[6] Anon, *The Horrid Murther committed by Captain Green and his crue, on Captain Drummond and his whole men*, (Edinburgh 1705).

were being entertained ashore'.[7] Despite a lack of any substantive evidence, and Green's protestations of innocence,[8] Green and his crewmates were hanged in April 1705, 'watched by a massive, blood-thirsty crowd on Leith sands'.[9] In such instances, the mood of the polity of early modern Scotland was clearly not just passively informed by 'news' of events, printed or otherwise, but was responsive to it as well. The last two examples, of the mob freeing the imprisoned printers, and the execution of Captain Green, are also illustrative of the extent to which recognised standards of truth or authority within print culture in Scotland had lost their grasp by the end of the seventeenth-century: The government of Scotland had ceased to govern in print. According to Graham, 'in Admiralty circles' it was known that 'two crewmen of the *Speedy Return* had recently landed at Portsmouth and testified to the true fate of their vessel – taken by Madagascan pirates'.[10] However, the Scottish Privy Council found themselves unable to stem the 'bilious tide of popular unrest' which saw the crew of the *Worcester* condemned.[11] Far from a ceremony that 'inscribed sovereign authority […] intended to vindicate the justice and power of the state', in the manner of other pirate executions described by Jowitt,[12] the deaths of Green and his companions were a surrender of authority to the capricious justice of the mob in a 'travesty of Scottish justice'.[13] Perhaps because of this, Whatley and Patrick note that following the hanging of Captain Green and his Mates, there was a realisation that the events had been a 'stain on the country's reputation', with 'blood-lust giving way 'to "shame and remorse".'[14] The insanity of that moment must have made itself felt with Daniel Defoe though, as he made Captain Drummond, the captain of the *Speedy Return* for whose murder Green was executed, alive and well as a character in his *Madagascar; or, Robert Drury's Diary* (1729).[15] Defoe included an account of how Drummond's ship was indeed seized by pirates when at anchor, before being allowed to depart in the ship's longboat and living on beyond his supposed death in 1705. No direct allusion is made to the death of Green, but to an author so closely

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[7] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), pp. 88-89.
[8] Bamburgh G.5.29/15: *The Last Speeches and Dying Words of Captain Thomas Green, Commander of the ship the Worcester, and of Captain John Madder, chief Mate of the said ship* (Edinburgh: John Reid Jr, 1705), pp. 3-6.
[9] Christopher A. Whatley, 'The Issues Facing Scotland in 1707', *The Union of 1707: New Dimensions*, Eds. Stewart J. Brown and Christopher A. Whatley (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008), p. 3.
[10] Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, p. 96.
[11] Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 217.
[12] Claire Jowitt, 'Scaffold Performances: The Politics of Pirate Execution', pp. 152-53, 168.
[13] Eric J. Graham *A Maritime History of Scotland, 1650-1790*, p. 96.
[14] Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, p. 231.
[15] Daniel Defoe/Robert Drury, *Madagascar: or, Robert Drury's journal* (1729; London: W. Meadows, T. Astley, and B. Milles, 1743), pp. 17-21, etc.

tied to the ambiguities of factual and fictional accounts, this slight aside to a wrongful conviction on scanty evidence seems wholly acerbic and appropriate. As one man may die on rumours, so may another live in fiction, and in so doing damn the incitement of the mob by a playful misleading of the public.

This thesis discussed developments in early modern travel writing and credible representation in print through their use in inspiring and promoting colonial schemes, and the rhetorical techniques deployed to articulate a Scottish argument for empire. Through an appreciation of highly disparate print sources and perspectives, the hermeneutics of travel writing and promotional literatures were shown to illustrate the reciprocal relationship between author and reader in the construction of a desired reading or interpretation of a text. More importantly, the focus on the utility and application of travel writing to promotional propaganda and publicity enlarges the consequences of the inter-relationship between scientific advancement and the expansion of imperial boundaries to the projection of imaginative potential.

Among the most consistent elements to colonial rhetoric in early modern Europe was the necessity of a literary and historic legacy of colonisation to legally and imaginatively legitimise contemporary projects. Such histories were necessary for the cultivation of a colonial imagination within the home nation. As shown in chapter two, and William Alexander's first efforts to articulate a 'Scottish' argument for empire around the settlement of Nova Scotia,[16] poetry and other creative mediums were effective literary vehicles to reframe and recalibrate Scottish and Classical historiography to support colonial endeavours. The potentialities of the newly relevant 'British' context following the Union of Crowns, as well as an adaptive attitude to the record of exploration of other nations conveniently translated into English, also highlights the reflective nature of Scottish arguments for empire to contemporary political circumstances.

The promoters of East New Jersey demonstrated a similar appreciation of historic memory, incorporating the consequences of recent political and religious upheavals in Britain, as well as significant Scottish military defeats and mass forced transportation to the colonies, into their reasoning for a Scottish settlement amidst the English colonies of the Middle Atlantic. Unlike Nova Scotia in the 1620s, the Scottish settlement of East New Jersey, outside the establishment of 'Perth Amboy', did not require an initial founding, but rather developed out

[16] See p. 47.

of the residual communities related to the earlier English proprietorship and the Dutch 'New Netherlands'. From the promotion of these earlier settlements, the Scottish proprietors appropriated the use of 'testimonials' from current settlers of the province, using their correspondence to supplement their advocacy of the region.[17] As outlined in chapter three, shared witnessing and testimonials were markers of authenticity and authority outside with usual norms of traditional social hierarchies.[18] The use of such correspondence as supplementary materials in the promotion of East New Jersey also highlights the editorial power of a promoter of colonial enterprise, to act as the central narrator to their works of publicity, in adapting or excluding otherwise neutral or distinct materials to their own rendering of reality. By using such correspondence, in one instance to counter other competing narratives around the settlement, the promoters of East New Jersey were able to furnish their works with a domesticity and contemporaneity that the promotion of Nova Scotia lacked. The rendering of East New Jersey in print became more immediate to the literate public, who in turn became the witnesses and authenticators of the Proprietors' claims.

If the arguments around the distinct right of Scots to settle in Nova Scotia were enabled by the symbolic economy attendant to the Union of Crowns, the arguments around the Scottish Proprietorship of East New Jersey reflect the potentialities of the indistinct position of Scots operating within the national framework of English institutions in the later Stuart Monarchy. Both efforts attempted to establish a literary legacy to their proposals, which reflected contemporary markers of authenticity in print. As shown in chapter seven,[19] there were significant efforts in the early stages of the Company of Scotland to establish a similar imaginative and appealing reorientation of Scottish historic memory which were able to create a powerful and cohesive vision of the potential of colonial enterprise for Scotland's future. These early efforts to cultivate prospective supporters of the Company had a vision of Scottish empire quite different to that associated with the later 'Darien Scheme'. The frustrations of the Company in raising money outside Scotland are reflected in the increasingly antagonistic tone of these poetic works as time progressed, which matched the Company's exploitation of nationalist and populist print to rally support for the Company in Scotland.[20]

[17] See p. 120.
[18] See pp. 69-70.
[19] See p. 187.
[20] See p. 200-201.

Instead, what this thesis reveals is the extent to which, once Darien was revealed as the intended site of settlement, the literary legacy on which the Company of Scotland structured their legitimisation of the Darien Scheme was the actions and printed legacy of the South Sea buccaneers. The techniques and rhetorical devices by which the buccaneers attempted to rehabilitate their actions, as performed through their published works, were similarly deployed by the Company and their supporters to authorise the Company's actions.[21]

The greatest potential for future research most likely lies in this association of Scottish imperialist attitudes and piracy, with all its connotations of 'legitimate' and 'illegitimate' assertions of authority. Chapters five and six mostly focused on the rendering of the Isthmus of Darien in travel accounts and buccaneer ethnographies,[22] to understand the conceptual role played by the South Sea buccaneers on the contemporary perception of the Darien Scheme. However, other associations with piracy and smuggling are apparent in printed and manuscript materials around the Company. When opponents to the Company of Scotland, fearing the threat it posed to English traffic in the East Indies, attempted to discredit the Company in 1697, they did so by reporting rumours of a collaboration between the Company of Scotland and the notorious pirate 'John Avery' and his crew.[23] Also known as 'Henry Every', Avery had been a notorious pirate, made famous by his capture in 1695 of a fleet of ships in the Arabian Sea belonging to the Grand Mughal undertaking the pilgrimage to Mecca. Avery's actions did immense damage to the East India Company's fragile relations with the Mughal court. While Avery was never caught, his supposed association with the Company of Scotland appears to have been an effort to stir up hysteria against the Company. Any such association between Avery and the Company of Scotland would have poisoned any future potential trade in the East Indies and added a predatory element to the Scottish undertaking. The execution of Captain Green shows how one may 'become' a pirate through the machinations of print, as Wafer and Dampier were rehabilitated into respectable public figures. When these events are placed within the fuller context of the other developments in the pursuit of credible representation within print culture, it is clear the inception and pursuit of the Darien Scheme in the 1690s took place at a moment of critical ambiguity between truth and fiction within print culture. By the same token, the question of 'legitimate' and

[21] See pp. 154, 158, 174, 182, 234-35.
[22] See pp. 135, 152, 162.
[23] 'Letter from Mr. Orth, Secretary to Sir Paul Ricaut at Hamburgh, to Mr Secretary Trumbull.' Hamburgh, 21 April, 1697, *The Writings of William Paterson; Founder of the Bank of England*, Vol. III, Ed. Saxe Bannister (1859; New York: August M. Kelley, 1968), p. 261-62.

'illegitimate' maritime trade and travel, and how they were established, is a clear feature of Scottish colonial rhetoric throughout this thesis.

Above all, this thesis outlines how print culture developed over the seventeenth-century, from a means by which William Alexander attempted to recruit support among the nobility for his impractical designs,[24] to a commercial vehicle with the power to rehabilitate authors, delineate the 'truth' about the world, and create and express 'popular' opinion. As outlined in chapter three,[25] the rise of verisimilitude and 'realistic' fictions in print, alongside developing news-networks and literacy was to have profound implications for the way in which readers understood and interpreted the world around them. The codification of printed authenticity was yet vulnerable to the interpretative prejudices of the reader, and the elevation of trusted printers to determine the 'truth' against government censorship were no less infallible to manipulation.[26]

By the close of the seventeenth-century, print, and especially newsprint, had an accelerating effect on the collective interpretation of world events, as it became increasingly contemporaneous to the proceedings it described. These factors coalesced around the contemporary news reports of Darien discussed in chapter 8 which perpetuated a misleading idea of 'New Caledonia' that remained stubbornly resistant to disruptive counter-narratives.[27] In the case of the collapse of the Darien scheme, it brought Scots 'out onto the streets and into the politics of the crowd in the years that culminated in 1707'.[28] While the relevant chapters on Darien were divided between the ostensibly 'fictional' and 'factual' literary modes, neither was whole without the other. Scottish colonialism had to be imagined before it could be made real, and that imagined ideal endured beyond the collapse of its physical manifestation on the shores of Central America precisely because of the printed narrative that had been constructed around it. As the world became smaller through the distribution of news networks, the immediacy of print to the reader placed a greater emphasis on the necessity of an individual to determine for themselves the validity of what they consumed, even as such materials were distributed, consumed and interpreted *en masse*. The markers of authenticity by which trust could be invested in an account became more fluid, and liable to change with circumstance as the current understanding of events were 'updated', making one thing true

[24] G. P. Insh, *Scottish Colonial Schemes, 1620-1686*, p. 60.
[25] See p. 67.
[26] See p. 87.
[27] See p. 245.
[28] Christopher A. Whatley with Derek J. Patrick, *The Scots and the Union*, pp. 168-69.

today, and suspect tomorrow. The time between the publication of events or 'new' editions, rather than the distance or origins of an account, fermented cyclical uncertainty in what was 'known' or understood. To reiterate the argument of V. S. Naipaul on Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana* (1596), it is just such an indistinct frame of action and space that allows for 'the swiftly passing moment when romance could be apprehended'.[29]

[29] V.S. Naipaul, *The Loss of El Dorado: A History* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1969), p. 88.

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